

SHAKSPER NOT SHAKESPEARE

BY

WILLIAM H. EDWARDS

Author of "The Butterflies of North America,"

"A Voyage up the River Amazon," etc.

With Portraits and fac-similes

LET EVERY TUB STAND ON ITS OWN BOTTOM

—*Apt Proverb*

CINCINNATI

THE ROBERT CLARKE COMPANY

1900

822.33
A3

COPYRIGHT, 1900,
BY
THE ROBERT CLARKE COMPANY,
Entered at Stationers' Hall, London.

84960

“The life of Shakspeare is a fine mystery, and I tremble every day lest something should turn up.”

—CHARLES DICKENS.

INTRODUCTORY.

It is full time that reasonable men should re-examine the evidences on which they have believed that an illiterate butcher, from an ignorant and bookless inland village, who flew to London in disgrace before the constable, and became a servitor, and later, a player at a public theater, the then most degraded place of amusement, and who spent the greater part of every year in strolling through England with his troupe of comedians, sat himself down, and without preparation or knowledge, dashed off Hamlet,—and not only Hamlet, but nearly two score of the world's greatest plays. This exploit is so discordant with the facts of the man's life and environment, that his ablest and most authoritative biographer is obliged to suggest that these plays were written "without effort"; that is, without study or equipment, "by inspiration, not by design", thus making of the Bard of his admiration, as he never wearies of calling him, a species of literary Blind Tom. He certainly did write by inspiration, if he wrote at all, for in his uninspired moments he possessed not one accomplishment or characteristic that would help him to the writing of a play of any sort,—

not even the manual art of writing. Another biographer, of high authority, tells us that this man wrote the plays simply to fill the theater and his own pockets—not because, as a poet, he was compelled to sing. In the pages to follow, I assert and prove that the Shakespeare plays were not written for William Shaksper's theater, and that no one of them was ever played at his theater, except in special scenes, or in pantomime; and also that no man, during his lifetime, attributed the plays to William Shaksper, or suspected him of any authorship whatever. I assert and prove that, until the issue of the First Folio of the Collected Plays, in 1623, years after the death of William Shaksper, these plays, singly or collectively, had no reputation whatever; that they were not comprehended by the people, learned or unlearned, of that age; and that they are but just now, after a lapse of three hundred years, beginning to be comprehended. The Shaksper myth originated in the verses of Ben Jonson prefixed to the Folio, written as a paid advertisement, and in the bitterest ridicule of William Shaksper and the pretensions set up for him by the syndicate of publishers: also in the lying testimony, in the same Folio, which Heminge and Condell, Shaksper's ignorant fellow-players, are made by some unknown writer to stand sponsors for. I show that he died as devoid of accomplishments as when he entered London,—unknown

to any man of letters or of eminence, unnoticed and unlamented. The English speaking world has been humbugged in this matter long enough, but the labors of Halliwell-Phillipps, of Ingleby, and Furnivall, and Fleay, at length enable us to know exactly what William Shaksper did do, and what he did not do. He made, and stuck to, and left behind him, a great heap of money, and that was the sole achievement of his fifty-two years on this planet. Began poor, died rich—which a Harvard professor, another biographer, thinks was as wonderful a feat as the writing of the Shakespeare plays. It is enough for me to prove that William Shaksper did not write these plays. Who did, I know not, and offer no suggestions; but when the venerable Shaksper image has tumbled, and the critics have a little time to clear their eyes of dust and cobwebs, the real authors may be discovered,—authors, for I believe there were several associates who wrote under the assumed name of “William Shakespeare.”

WILLIAM H. EDWARDS.

CONTENTS.

THE PROPOSITION,	I
THE DEMONSTRATION,	I

PART I.

I. The Family of William Shaksper,	7
II. As to the House in which John Shaksper Lived	16
III. The School advantages of the Boy William,	20
IV. The Youth of William Shaksper,	33
V. Whither?	40
VI. The Life of William on entering London,	49
VII. The Theaters in London,	94
VIII. William Shaksper's Thirst for Wealth,	177
IX. The Testimony of the Plays,	193

PART II.

X. References to Shakespeare, Author or Works, or to the Player, Shaksper, or Shaksper,	259
XI. The First Folio,	304
XII. Heminge and Condell,	350
XIII. The Sonnets,	365
XIV. Last years at Stratford, and death of Shaksper,	375
XV. That William Shaksper never learned to write,	385
XVI. Further evidence of the ignorance of contemporaries respecting William Shaksper,	413
XVII. Absence of allusions to Stratford-on-Avon, or to Warwickshire, in the Plays; the Authors unob- servant of Nature,	430
XVIII. Views of the Baynes School,	438

XIX. Views of the Philipps School: of Fleay and some other commentators,	449
XX. The Smattering, Picking-up School.	453
XXI. The Likenesses of William Shaksper.	461
XXII. A Suggestion,	486
XXIII. The Summing Up,	491

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
1. Fac-simile of John Shaksper's name,	8
2-4. Other styles of same,	8
5. Same, with terminal German <i>r</i> ,	9
6. Another, with open German terminal <i>r</i> ,	9
7. Same, with terminal <i>e</i> following the German <i>r</i> ,	9, 10
8. The real boy Shaksper,	26
9. Rolfe's notion of boy Shaksper,	27
10. William Kemp, Shaksper's Instructor in Comedy,	60
11. Richard Tarleton, another clown of same Company,	61
12. Interior of the Swan Theater, 1596	106
13. William Shaksper's pretended signature to deed, from Malone,	387
14. The same, Boston Library version,	390
15. The pretended signature to a mortgage, Boston Li- brary version,	391
16. The five pretended signatures, Deed, Mortgage, and Will, after Drake,	392
17. Malone's copy of the three Will signatures,	394
18. Same, enlarged,	395
19. Second and third of the Will signatures, Boston Li- brary version,	396
20. The letters <i>a</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>s</i> , <i>p</i> , of the three Will signatures, Malone,	398
21. The three Will signatures, from Lee,	400
22. Fac-simile of the name John Shaksper,	405
23. The counterfeit signature of William Shaksper in the Florio Montaigne,	411
24. The Droeshout likeness of William Shaksper,	465
25. The Flower Portrait of William Shaksper,	469
26. Macmonnies' Statue of William Shaksper,	472
27. The Stratford Bust,	474
28. The Kasselstadt Death Mask of no one knows whom,	482
29. Lord Ronald Gower's composition likeness of Will- iam Shaksper, at Stratford,	484

SHAKSPER NOT SHAKESPEARE.

THE PROPOSITION.

That William Shaksper could not have written the "Shakespeare" poems and plays.

"It must either be shown that Bacon did actually write them, in which case Shaksper was not their author, or *that Shaksper could not possibly have written them, in which case somebody else must have done so.*" Alfred Russel Wallace, L.L.D., F.R.S., etc., etc., in the *Arena*, July, 1893.

"The whole case seems to lie in this: that the burden of proving that Shaksper did not write the works rests upon those who say he did not write them, and as yet these persons have not submitted an item of proof." ("Listener"), *Boston Transcript*, 6th November, 1897.

THE DEMONSTRATION.

I propose to show that William Shaksper, often called Shaksper, could not possibly have written the works attributed to him under the name of "William Shakespeare", or "Shake-speare", in which case, according to Dr. Wallace, "somebody else must have done so". It matters not who that somebody was. The poems and plays are in evidence that, in the time of Elizabeth and James, there lived one man or several men who wrote them; but that the man was the player whose family name was "Shaksper", and whose name is appended to a deed and a mortgage "Shaksper" and "Shakspar" and three times to a will "Shaksper",

there is no evidence; there is nothing but inference, conjecture, unwarranted assumption and baseless (though general) reputation. During his life of fifty-two years none of his relations, neighbors, or intimates, and none of his contemporaries, testified that this man was the author of these works. The story originated after his death—in mockery, and gathered strength as the years went by, for the simple reason that originally nobody cared for the Shakespeare plays, or who wrote them. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, when all who had known anything of the matter had passed away, the legend received a fresh impetus from certain antiquarians and story-tellers; and when, two generations ago, some one bethought him of looking into the matter, the whole world was attributing the plays to illiterate William Shaksper. A great deal of investigation has been going on during these last years, and as the result, I undertake to show that the possibilities and facts are all against the Stratford man. I propose also to satisfy the requirement of the Listener of the Transcript.

I shall ground my arguments largely on citations from the 9th (and last) edition of Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps' "Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare," London, 1890, and Dr. C. J. Ingleby's "Centurie of Prayse", 2d edition, edited by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, 1879.

Mr. F. G. Fleay, one of the most eminent of the Shakespearian scholars, says: "The documents on which the facts of his (William Shaksper's) private life are founded have been excellently well collected and arranged in the Outlines, etc., by Mr. Phillipps. This book is a treasure house of documents, and it is

greatly to be regretted that they are not published by themselves''.

The suggestion of Mr. Fleay seems to have been acted on by Mr. Daniel W. Wilder, who in 1893, at Boston, published "The Life of Shakespeare (Shaksper) compiled from the best sources without Comment''. He copies word for word all the facts given by Mr. Phillipps, 8th edition. Mr. Wilder says in his preface: "Mr. Phillipps' studies embraced the whole field of our earlier literature. . . . Gradually he came to concentrate himself upon Shakespeare (Shaksper) alone, and more particularly upon the facts of his life''. The other work, "The Centurie of Prayse'', with its supplement by Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 1886, is the result of a painstaking search through all English literature, poets, prose writers, records of every description, from diaries and note books to the records of the Master of the Revels, (as to the names of the plays supposed to be Shakespeare's acted before the court). Private correspondence has everywhere been examined for a mention of either player Shaksper, or author Shakespeare, or allusions to the Shakespeare works; and all this for a period of one hundred years, beginning soon after the arrival at London of the player, and soon after the first appearance of the Shakespeare Plays.*

Every mention of either player or author or allusion or reference to works for one hundred years by anybody which has come down from that age, with two or three exceptions to be hereafter noted, is given in this valuable book.

I shall also cite Richard Grant White's Memoirs prefixed to his edition of the "Complete Works of

William Shakespeare''; and the same author's *Studies in Shakespeare''*; and *''England Without and Within''*, etc.; Drake's *''Shakespeare and His Times''*, London, 1817; J. P. Collier's *''Life of Shakespeare, and History of the English Stage to the time of Shakespeare''*, 1843. New York ed., 1853; *''Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama''*, by J. Addington Symonds, London, 1884; F. G. Fleay's *''Chronicle History of the Life and Works of William Shakespeare''*, London, 1886*; and his *''Chronicle History of the English Stage''*, 1890; Bishop Wordsworth's *''Shakespeare and The Bible''*, 3d Ed., London, 1880; Professor Barrett Wendell's *''William Shaksper''*, Boston, 1894; Mrs. Dall's, *''What we really know about Shakespeare''*, New York, 1895; Ruggles', *''The Plays of Shakespeare founded on Literary Forms''*, Boston, 1895; *''Our English Homer, or Shakespeare Historically Considered''*, by Thomas W. White, London, 1892; Sidney Lee's *''Life of William Shakespeare''*, London and New York, 1898; Dowden's *''Introduction to Shakespeare''*, New York, 1895; Prof. G. L. Craik's *''English of Shakespeare, and English Literature and Language''*; and Edwin's *''Reed's Bacon vs. Shaksper''*, Boston, 1897. Also somewhat from Dr. Doran's *''Annals of the Stage''*; and from the writings of the Shakespearian editors, Drs. Roife and Furnivall; and rather by way of comment, I shall quote from Smith's *''Bacon and Shakespeare''*, London, 1857; Morgan's *''The Shakespearian 'Myth''*, 3d ed., Cincinnati, 1888; Donnelly's *''The Great Crypto-*

* The first of these books will be referred to as *''Fleay''* or *''Fleay, Life''*, the other as *''Fleay, Hist.''*

gram", Chicago, 1888; and Mrs. Potts' "Did Francis Bacon write Shakespeare?", London, 1893.

Halliwell-Phillipps is the greatest authority on the subject of William Shaksper by consent of all Shaksperians. He was a most indefatigable worker, and devoted the greater part of his long life and a great part of his fortune to collecting the facts relating to him of Stratford, under the belief that he was the same individual as the author Shakespeare, and in searching for documents to illustrate his life. Consequently we know a vast deal about William Shaksper, and about everybody related to him, his grandfather, his father, his brothers and sisters, his daughters and sons-in-law, "and his cousins and his aunts"; also about Stratford-on-Avon. We know of this William from his boyhood to his departure for London, and in London and Stratford again to the day of his death and then to his burial. We know of him as a player, as part proprietor of one or more theaters, as poor, and as rich. We have in great detail his business transactions, his purchase of lands and houses, his deeds and mortgages, his business of loaning money, his suits at law; his trading in various lines, *but surprisingly nothing whatever concerning any literary employment or proclivities*. A thousand times Mr. Phillipps speaks of him as "the great dramatist", or "the bard of our admiration". Even in the index he itemizes about "the great dramatist". His two large volumes comprise nine hundred pages,—and after all, striking out some few elegiac verses, or eulogies, from the beginning of the successive Folio editions of the Shakespeare Plays, for good and sufficient reasons, (which I shall give in due time) *there is not one line in the whole work that*

identifies William Shaksper as the author of the poems and plays—not one line. We are made to know about him in every aspect but that of author, and there history is silent. The biography, therefore, is of no more value in the case than would have been that of Robert Arden, his grandfather. Mr. Phillipps has carved for himself an unbeautiful idol, out of a shaky pfece of timber, and grovels before it as if he were a Polynesian or a Hindoo. The waste of time and labor shown by his "Outlines" is pitiful. However, as most people believe, without knowing why, just as Mr. Phillipps believed, I have to follow his lead, but before I get through I will substantiate my proposition.

The name Shakespeare is quite another etymologically and orthographically from Shagsper, or Shaksper, or Shaxpeyr, or Shackysper, or Shaxper. It is not in evidence that any author lived in the age of Elizabeth whose family and baptismal name was William Shakespeare, or Shake-speare. There is no such historical man—no individual known who bore that name—and the inference is fair that the name as printed upon certain poems and plays was a pseudonym, like that of "Mark Twain" or of "George Eliot". Many conjectures have been ventured as to the real author, but there have never been proofs, and the right, even now, in 1900, remains an open question. Nevertheless, without proof, the authorship has been attributed to a player, later a manager in and a proprietor of a London theater, one William Shaksper, and books innumerable have been written on the cool assumption that he was the man. Now the exposure of his claim is the object of this writing.

SHAKSPER NOT SHAKESPEARE.

CHAPTER I.

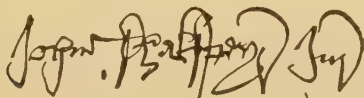
THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM SHAKSPER.

The family of the player were known to their neighbors as Shaksper; that is, the first syllable had the sound of *back*, the second of *per*, *e* short, making Shaksper. As no one of them in all their generations preceding the player had known how to write, there is no evidence from themselves as to the spelling or pronunciation of the name. It was written by other persons, however, in a variety of forms, but almost always expresses the sound Shak-sper. R. G. White has given thirty of these forms, and other authors have collected nearly as many more.

In the records of the town council of Stratford, and of the Court of Records, the name is written many times. We know this because Halliwell-Phillipps has printed every mention of John Shaksper which has been found. In his pages are to be seen Shaksper, Shakysper, Shaxper, Shaxpur, Shaxysper, Shexper, Shakisper, Shakspeyr, Shakgspeyr, Shackspers, Shaxpere, Shakspere, Shaksbere, Shakspear. Mr. Phillipps gives many fac-similes of the name John Shaksper as written. Also of Mary Shaksper, John's wife, and one of

his uncle, Hary Shaksper. I find the name in these fac-similes thirty-eight times. We have Shakpeyr or Shakspeyr fifteen times. Cut 1 shows this style of signature:

1.



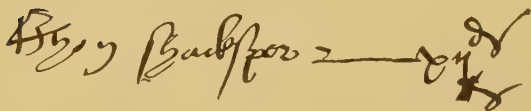
Nineteen are Shaksper, Shakysper, some as shown in Cut 2 (the last letter read *r* by Phillipps):

2.



Others end in the ordinary modern *r*, as in Cut 3:

3.



A variation of the *r* in 3 is shown in Cut 4, page 232. Phillipps reads the name Shakyspere, but it is nothing otherwise than Shakysper:

4.



Others have the terminal *r* in the German form, as seen in Cut 5, taken from H.-P., II, 236:

5.

Jo^hes Schaeper *φ*.

Phillipps reads this letter as *r*, but the same letter written by a rapid or an inexperienced penman, so as to open and become like a *w*, as in Cut 6 (II, 239), he reads *re*:

6.

Jo^hes Schaeper

There are a few signatures where the *r* (like that in Cut 3) and *e*, each distinct, are undoubtedly blended into one character, but in nearly all cases the final letter is merely an expanded *r*. If the scrivener desired to make *re*, with a German *r*, he wrote it as in Cut 7 (H.-P., II, 13), each letter distinct:

7.

Jo^hes Schaeper

Another fine example of this distinct *r* and *e* is seen in H.-P., II, 90. Wherever there is the slightest flourish at the extremity of the *r* (as, for example, Cut 4), Phillipps reads the letter as *re*, for it would

be painful if the name of the "bard of our admiration" could not be made to end with the two magical letters. But a German *r*, when made separately, naturally carries a flourish at the extremity, as seen in Malone's figure of that letter accompanying his fac-simile of Shaksper's signature to the deed of 1612, and repeated herein, Chapter XV. Also as seen in Cut 8, an enlarged fac-simile of a script *r* from Woodberry's "Method of Learning the German Language:"

8.



It is plain that the German *r* carries a flourish that has sometimes been taken for an *e*.

The use of the German *r*, we are told, was common among scribes during the reigns of Elizabeth and James; but that it was also used half a century later can be seen in the fac-simile of John Milton's contract with Samuel Symons for the sale of the manuscript of *Paradise Lost*, given in Pickering's edition of Milton's Works, Vol. 1. In this the German *r* repeatedly occurs in such words as "whereby", "whereof", and "were", followed by a distinct *e* of the same species as the one which precedes the *r* in these same words. Inasmuch as nearly, if not quite all, the mentions of John Shaksper's name occur in the records, and were therefore written by scribes, the larger part of them undoubtedly ending in *r*, as seen in cuts 1-4, it is to be presumed that these sprawling characters spoken of were intended for *r* also. Fifteen of the fac-similes have the first syllable

of the surname *Shax*. It is evident that John was known among his neighbors as Shaxper or Shaksper, and nothing else. His son William, therefore, began life as William Shaksper or Shaxper.

R. G. White says: "The name sometimes appears as Chaksper or Shaksper. It is possible that Shakespeare is a corruption of some name of a more peaceful meaning, and therefore perhaps of humbler derivation." Dr. Morgan says: "The name is supposed to have been simply Jacques Pierre (John Peter). This *Shak* is the present mispronunciation of Jacques prevalent in Warwickshire."*

Phillipps, II, 59, prints a letter from Abraham Sturley, of Stratford, to Richard Quiney, a townsman, living in London, 4th November, 1598, asking his aid in getting some money "through our countryman Mr. Wm. Shak." Shak is not Shake, and the mention shows what the pronunciation of the first syllable of the player's name was. This sort of abbreviation of a surname is not uncommon in our

* "In all the forms (of the Shaksper name) tabulated by Wise, the one printed on the title pages of the plays and poems "Shakespeare", does not appear. It is unique. So far as we know, no person in Stratford, or in any other part of the kingdom, previous to the publication of the *Venus and Adonis*, wrote it in that way. Literature had an absolute monopoly of it." Reed, 13. "In Grecian mythology, Pallas Athene was the goddess of wisdom, philosophy, poetry and the fine arts. Her original name was simply Pallas, a word derived from *pellein*, signifying to brandish or shake. She was generally represented with a spear. Athens, the home of the drama, was under the protection of this Spear-shaker. In our age such a signature would be understood at once as a pseudonym." Id. 14.

country among English emigrants. In a mining village which I lived in, Billy Clatworthy went by the name of Billy Clat; Mrs. Cadwallader, Mrs. Cad; and Mrs. Shepherd, Mrs. Shep. So, to a Stratford man, William Shaksper was Wm. Shak.

William Shaksper was the son of John Shaksper, who in his younger days had been a tenant of Robert Arden, farmer. After Arden's death, John married Mary, his daughter, and at an uncertain date removed to Stratford-on-Avon, where he practiced the trade of a butcher. H.-P. tells us, I, 35, that "for some years subsequently to this period (his removal) John Shaksper was a humble tradesman, holding no conspicuous position in the town". Aubrey says that John was a butcher, and that young William, as he had been told by some of the neighbors, "exercised his father's trade".

Phillipps, I, 178, says that "both families"—the Shaksperc and the Ardenc—were really descended from obscure English country yeomen; and on page 55, "that nearly every one of the boy's connections was a farmer". Again, on page 38, that "both parents were absolutely illiterate". As it was then, so it had ever been, always peasants or obscure country yeomen. "For years the European world grew upon a single type, in which the forms of the fathers' thought were the forms of the sons, and the last descendant was occupied in treading into paths the foot-prints of his distant ancestors." Froude, *Hist. Eng.*, I, 1.

Dr. Johnson asserts that "in the time of Shakespeare, the lower classes were but just emerging from barbarity".

“The inventory of Robert Arden's (father to Mary) goods (H.-P. says he was a farmer and nothing more), which was taken shortly after his death, in 1556, enables us to realize the kind of life that was followed by the poet's mother during her girlhood. In the total absence of books or means of intellectual education, her requirements must have been restricted to an experimental knowledge of matters connected with the farm.

“There can be no doubt that the maiden spent most of her time in the homeliest of rustic employments; and it is not impossible . . . she occasionally assisted in the more robust occupations of the field. . . . Existence was passed in her father's house in some respects, we should say, rather after the manner of pigs than of human beings. . . . There were no table knives, no forks, no crockery. The food was manipulated on flat pieces of stout wood. The means of ablution were lamentably defective; what were called towels were merely for wiping the hands after a meal, and there was not a single wash basin in the establishment. As for the inmates and other laborers, it was very seldom indeed, if ever, that they either washed their hands or combed their hair.” H.-P., 28.

It is necessary to call attention to these particulars that the early familiarity of William Shaksper with the ways and manners of gentlewomen, not to speak of ladies, countesses, duchesses, princesses and queens, may be estimated. His wife was just such another rustic as his mother, yet a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, for December, 1897, suggests that the wife

"served as raw material to be worked up into Imogenes and Rosalinds—enchanted creatures"!

A great deal of labor has been expended in an effort to make the Ardens to have been of gentle birth, but so high an authority as Dowden is compelled to say: "That these Ardens were connected with an ancient family of gentle folk of that name has been asserted, and may be true, but the statement cannot be proved".

"Stratford then contained about 1800 inhabitants, who dwelt chiefly in thatched cottages, which straggled over the ground, etc. The streets were foul with offal, mud, muck heaps and reeking stable refuse, the accumulation of which the town ordinances and the infliction of which fines could not prevent, even before the doors of the better sort of people." R. G. White, 21. Cottages of that day in Stratford consisted of mud walls and a thatched roof. See H.-P., 205.

"At this period, and for many generations afterwards, the sanitary condition of the thoroughfares of Stratford-on-Avon was simply terrible. Streamlets of a water power sufficient for the operation of corn mills meandered through the town. . . . Here and there small middens were ever in the course of accumulation, the receptacles of offal and every species of nastiness. A regulation for the removal of these collections to certain specified localities interspersed through the borough, and known as common dung-hills, appears to have been the extent of the interference that the authorities ventured or cared to exercise in such matters. Sometimes when the nuisance was thought to be sufficiently flagrant, they made a raid

on those inhabitants who had suffered their refuse to accumulate largely in the highways. On one of these occasions, in April, 1552, John Shaksper was amerced in the sum of twelve pence for having amassed what was no doubt a conspicuous *sterquinarium* before his house in Henley street; and under these unsavory circumstances does the history of the poet's father commence in the records of England''. H.-P., I, 24. Garrick described Stratford-on-Avon a hundred years later (1769), as "the most dirty, unseemly, ill-paved, wretched-looking town in all Britain."

CHAPTER II.

AS TO THE HOUSE IN WHICH JOHN SHAKSPER
LIVED.

I quote White's "England Without and Within," p. 526: "Of all that I saw connected with his (William Shaksper) memory, his house was the most disappointing; and more, it was sad, depressing. The house had recently been 'restored,' and so destroyed. Its outside has an air of newness that is positively offensive. All expression of rural antiquity has been scraped and painted, and roofed, and clap-boarded out of it.

"Within, however, not much of this smoothing has been done. My heart sank within me as I looked around upon the rude, mean dwelling-place of him who had filled the world with the splendor of his imaginings. It is called a house, and any building intended for a dwelling-place is a house; but the interior of this one is hardly that of a rustic cottage; it is almost that of a hovel, poverty-stricken, squalid, kennel-like. A house so cheerless and comfortless I had not seen in rural England. The poorest, meanest farm-house that I had ever entered in New England or on Long Island was a more cheerful habitation. And amid these sordid surroundings William Shakespeare grew to manhood. . . . Then for the first time I knew and felt from how low a condition of life Shakespeare had arisen. *For his family were not reduced to*

this; they had risen to it. This was John Shaksper's home in the days of his brief prosperity. . . . The upper part of the house, to which you climb by a little rude stairway that is hardly good enough for a decent stable, has been turned into a museum of doubtful relics and gimcracks, and is made as unlike as possible what it must have been when Shakespeare lived there. There is very little of this museum that is worth attention, but there is one object of some interest. It is a letter written to Wm. Shackspere by Richard Quiney, of Stratford, asking for a loan of money. This scrap of paper has the distinction of being the only existing thing, except his will, that we know must have been in Shakespeare's hands, for as to the Florio Montaigne, others whose judgment on such a point is worth mine ten times over, think, as I do, that it is a forgery."

Further: "To Anne Hathaway's cottage at Shottery I went, taking the path through the fields which Shakespeare took too often for his happiness. There is little to be said about this house, which is merely a thatched cottage of the same grade as the house in Henley street—in its original condition a picturesque object in a landscape, but the lowliest sort of human habitation. I sat upon the settle by the great fireplace, where the wonderful boy of eighteen was ensnared by the woman of twenty-six. I could not help but think of the toil, the wretchedness, the perplexity, and the shame that were born to him beneath that roof. . . . Thus ended my visit to Stratford-on-Avon, where I advise no one to go who would preserve any elevated idea connected with Shakespeare's per-

sonality. . . . It was with a sense of mingled gloom and wrong of rightful expectation that I turned my back upon Stratford-on-Avon."

[Mrs. Dall assures her readers that Halliwell-Phillips "is the highest authority in all that concerns the life of William Shakespeare", meaning William Shaksper, of Stratford. Mr. Phillips tells us that John Shaksper and Mary, his wife, "were really descended from obscure yeomen", and that "both were absolutely illiterate." Further, that John began life in Stratford "as an humble tradesman", either a butcher or a wool dealer, or both. Yet Mrs. Dall can say: "As to his (William Shaksper's) social station, it was that to which New England is indebted for her best citizens—for the Winthrops, the Peabodys, the Rogerses, and Lawrences and the Appletons"—which certainly is mighty hard on the Winthrops, etc. Undoubtedly some of the men and women who emigrated to New England after 1620 were of the station to which John Shaksper belonged, absolutely illiterate, obscure yeomen, or humble tradesmen, but it was a far cry from them to the Winthrops and Appletons. One set was at the bottom, the mud sills, the other was the top of the structure. Dr. Leonard Bacon says: "The principal planters of Massachusetts were English country gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortune, of enlarged understanding improved by liberal education".

Dr. Byington also adds his testimony: "The Puritans who came to Massachusetts Bay were, for the most part, in comfortable circumstances at home, with good education and with good social connections in

England; and an unusual proportion of them were graduates from English Universities."

Mrs. Dall heads her list of authorities for the life of William Shaksper with Charles Knight's "Life of Shakespeare",—a work of imagination strictly, built up to suit the man who, he thinks, wrote the Shakespeare plays, but without one historical fact to support it.]

CHAPTER III.

THE SCHOOL ADVANTAGES OF THE BOY WILLIAM.

"It must have been about this period, 1568, that Shakespeare (Shaksper) entered into the mysteries of the horn-book and the A, B, C. Although both his parents were absolutely illiterate, they had the sagacity to appreciate the importance of an education for their son, and the poet, somehow or other, was taught to read and write, the necessary preliminaries to admission into the Free Schools. *There were few persons in Stratford capable of initiating him even into these preparatory accomplishments*", etc. H.-P., I, 38. As a matter of fact, there is no proof whatever that William ever went to any sort of school, or ever learned to read; and as to his illiterate parents having the sagacity to appreciate the importance of his learning, the probability is that as became such illiterate people, they cared nothing about it. The Shaksper had got on very well so far without that accomplishment. "Although there is no certain information on the subject, it may perhaps be assumed that at this time boys usually entered the free schools at the age of seven. . . . If so, unless its system of instruction differed essentially from that pursued in other establishments of a similar character, his earliest knowledge of Latin was derived from two well-known books of the time, the 'Accidence', and the 'Sententie Pueriles'. The best authorities unite in telling us

that the poet" (*i. e.*, player Shaksper) "imbibed a certain amount of Latin at school, but that his acquaintance with that language was, throughout his life, of a very limited character. It is not probable that scholastic learning was ever congenial to his tastes, and it should be recollected that books in most parts of the country were then of very rare occurrence. Lily's Grammar and a few classical works, chained to the desks of the free schools, were probably the only volumes of the kind to be found at Stratford-on-Avon. Exclusive of Bibles, Church Services, Psalters and education manuals, there were certainly not more than two or three dozen books, if so many, in the whole town. The copy of the black-letter English History, so often depicted as well thumbed by Shakespeare in his father's parlor, never existed out of the imagination." H.-P., I, 53. This disposes of Charles Knight's figment: "In the humble home of Shakespeare's boyhood, there was in all probability to be found a thick, squat, folio volume, then some thirty years printed, in which might be read, 'What misery, what murder! and what execrable plagues this famous region hath suffered by the division and dissensions of the renowned houses of Lancaster and York'. 'This book was Hall's Chronicle.'"

R. G. White says of that school and of boy Shaksper: "He could have learned Latin, and some Greek; some English, too, but not much, for English was held in scorn by the scholars of those days, and long after". Dr. Morgan says: "Children in those days were put at their *hic, hæc, hoc*, at an age when we send them to the

kindergarten. But no master ever dreamed of drilling them in their own vernacular."

"A maximum of caning and a minimum of parrot-work in desultory Latin paradigms, which, whether wrong or right, were of no consequence whatever to anybody, was the village idea of a boy's education in England for long centuries, easily inclusive of the years within which William Shakspeare lived and died. The greatest scholars of those centuries either educated themselves, or by learned parents were guided to the sources of human intelligence and experience. At any rate, they drew nothing out of the country grammar schools." *

That William Shaksper attended the free school at Stratford, or any other school, is a conjecture on the part of his biographers. The common people of England at that period, and all through the reign of Elizabeth, were illiterate, "gross and dark", in the words of Dr. Johnson. In his preface to Shakespeare, 1765, Dr. Johnson asserts that in the time of Shakespeare, "to be able to read and write, outside of professed scholars, or men and women of high rank, was an accomplishment still valued for its rarity." What writing was necessary for such people, letters,

* "The annual charge on the town of Stratford for support of its grammar schools was, in 1568, £20.13; £20 of which was for the salary of the master and his assistants. The pay of the superintendent was eight pence or at the rate of one-sixth of a penny a week. These figures seem to suggest that the grammar school could not have been on the extensive scale which is predicated for it on the intellectual output of one of its pupils." Morgan, *A Study*, etc., 4th Ed., p. 440.

accounts or other, was done by a professional class, the scriveners. Mr. Phillipps, I, 33, tells us that "in March, 1565, John Shaksper, with the assistance of his former colleague in the same office, made up the accounts of the Chamberlains of the borough for the year. Neither of these worthies could even write their own names; but nearly all tradesmen reckoned with counters, the results on important occasions being entered by professional scriveners." Of nineteen aldermen and burgesses of Stratford-on-Avon, only six could write their names. (See fac-simile in H.-P., I, 40.)

Lee asserts, 5, that "when attesting documents he (John Shaksper) occasionally made his mark, but there is evidence in the Stratford archives that he could write with facility."

Mr. Lee must claim for John the various copies of his name contained in H.-P., and of which I have before given several examples. If so, John had as wonderful a handwriting as his son William, whose name is never written twice in the same style. A man who can write does not use a mark in place of his name in attesting documents, or at all.

Halliwell-Phillipps personally investigated all the accessible records of Stratford for the period of John Shaksper's residence in that town, and in his volumes has given fac-similes of every mention of John's name, often with a good deal of the context. He declares positively that John could not write, and that he made his signature with a mark.* Unless Mr. Lee

* "There is no reasonable pretense for assuming that, in the time of John Shakespeare, whatever may have been the case at

produces satisfactory evidence to the contrary—something more than his own mere dictum—John must be held to have been an illiterate.

In 1894, Dr. Rolfe ran a series of four papers through the pages of the "Youth's Companion", for the instruction of American young people, entitled "Shakespeare, the Boy", handsomely illustrated. Of course, as no particulars whatever have come down to this age respecting the boy William Shaksper, except the date of his baptism, in the Stratford church register, every word of Dr. Rolfe's account is spun from his own imagination, and it consists of what Mr. Fleay calls "fanciful might-have-beens".

No. 1 sets off with a cut of a finely dressed boy of eight or nine years, hands in jacket pocket, chin in air, apparently posing as one absorbed in contemplation of nature. The adjacent text describes at some length the beautiful scenery of Warwickshire. Dr. Rolfe thinks the boy's delight in out-door life (because the plays show that the author of them delighted in that), "may have been intensified by the experience of the house in Henley street, with the reeking pile of filth at the front door"—the sterquinarium we have before heard of. "His poetry is everywhere full of beauty and fragrance of the flowers that bloom in and about

earlier periods, it was the practice for marks to be used by those who were capable of signing their names. No instance of the kind has ever been discovered among the numerous records of his era that are preserved at Stratford-on-Avon, while even a few rare examples in other districts, if such are to be found, would be insufficient to countenance a theory that he was able to write. All the known instances point in the opposite direction." H-P. II, 369.

Stratford; and the wonderful accuracy of his allusions to them . . . shows how thoroughly at home he was with them, how intensely he loved and studied them." I notice in passing that the worshipers of the Stratford man find it convenient to overlook the fact that the flowers which "bloom in and around Stratford" bloom as well in all the shires of Southern England. "These facts do not prove that he (Shaksper) was ever a botanist or a gardener. Neither are his numerous allusions to wild flowers and plants, not one of which appears to be peculiar to Warwickshire, evidences". H.-P., I, 136.

No. 2 describes a grammar school of that day—any one—and gives cuts of the ancient school room of Stratford, and a horn-book. Dr. Rolfe thinks this boy went to school when he was seven years old and left at thirteen, but it is all conjecture, as I have already said. "How William liked going to school we do not know, but if we are to judge from his references to school boys and school masters, he had little taste for it. As Jonson says, Shakespeare had little Latin and less Greek". (This little Latin does not apply very well to the boy who came in manhood to be the author of the Shakespeare plays, for he was a profound Latin scholar, as the plays themselves bear witness, but it will do as applied to the boy Shaksper.)

Nos. 3 and 4 describe the life of a well brought up boy, son of a nobleman or gentleman, and the games and pastimes of boys in general; and a cut is given of an ideal Henley street, swept and garnished, with half a dozen nicely dressed boys at play, in spruce jackets and turned down linen collars, their faces washed and

noses clean. Needless to say, boy William Shaksper could not have appeared in that garb, any more than filthy Henley street could have shone with cleanliness. The real boys in 1574, one and all, must have been gutter-snipes, in smock frocks and fustian breeches. I present a cut of the Stratford boy of that age, very likely William Shaksper himself. What makes me think it is the real William is that he seems to be anticipating his career as a jig dancer, under the instruction of Kempe, to be hereafter spoken of. He does not look as if he would develop into "the bard of our admiration."



In 1896, Dr. Rolfe published a volume of upwards of 200 pages, with the same title, "Shakespeare the

Boy'', made up from the Youth's Companion papers, extended and padded immensely. On the cover and also within are the bogus arms of John Shakespeare, which were applied for by player William on two several occasions, under cover of his father's name, with a vast deal of lying, but which were never granted



to either John Shaksper or William. The meaning of these (bogus) arms of the father on and in this book, is to make it evident that the boy William came of a race of gentlemen, and was brought up as the son of a

gentleman. The frontispiece represents a beautiful boy of eight or nine years, with a face that never could have grown into the vacuous one of the Droeshout portrait, the only authentic likeness of William Shaksper, and dressed like a young nobleman. I copy this remarkable picture, which apparently has been composed from the likenesses of John Milton * and Philip Sydney. (See cut, preceding page.)

Dress in the sixteenth century, and the centuries before that, "was the symbol of rank"; and for the son of a "humble tradesman" to be decked in the style of Rolfe's boy was impossible, and no one knows this better than the learned Doctor himself.

In another picture this young person is portrayed as standing by the Avon, fishing-pole in hand, not as a Stratford fishing boy, breeches soiled and mouth full of worms, but like a gentleman, in full dress, even to trunk hose—in fact a 12mo edition of the great Earl of Leicester.

The text is as misleading as the plates. To quote the fancies of Charles Knight's "mischievously fertile imagination", borrowing one of Mr. Fleay's phrases again, as fact, when Dr. Rolfe knows, none better, that there is not a particle of fact in them, any more than in the fancies of Sinbad the Sailor, how shall it be characterized? Hear him: "'He had', says this genial biographer, 'a copy well-thumbed from his first reading days of *The Palace of Pleasure*, by William Paynter. In this work was set forth 'the

* When a boy, Milton was remarkable for beauty, "delicate complexion, clear blue eyes, and light-brown hair flowing down his shoulders." That is the little man Rolfe has captured.

great valiance of noble gentlemen', etc. 'Pleasant little apothegms and short fables were there in the book which the brothers and sisters of William Shakspear (Shaksper) had heard him tell with marvelous spirit. There was another collection too, which that youth had diligently read—the Gesta Romanorum, old legends,' etc., etc. But beyond these our Mammilius had many a tale of spirits and goblins, etc. But the youth had met with the history of the murder of Duncan, the King of Scotland, in a chronicle older than Holinshed,' etc., *ad nauseam*. All this in the face of the declarations of Halliwell-Phillipps, whom Dr. Rolfe, p. 217, speaks of as one of the most careful and conservative critics, and who is styled by nearly all of the modern commentators or biographers, the one great authority for the facts of William Shaksper's life. Wherein do such misrepresentations of the facts of William Shaksper's boyhood differ from the Ireland forgeries, and the Collier frauds!

John Shaksper, "after his marriage, speculated in wool, and dealt in corn and other articles." H.-P. I, 30. Notwithstanding his inability to read and write, he had more or less capacity for business, which, as we shall see, his son William inherited, manifesting it in a greatly increased degree. John "was expert at reckoning with counters", Mr. Phillipps says, I, 33, and was able to "make up the accounts of the Chamberlains of the borough". He came in time to fill every office in his town from ale-taster and constable, to chamberlain, alderman and bailiff, the last highest of all, with limited magisterial powers. In a village of

poor cottagers, all alike illiterate, he doubtless surpassed his neighbors in business faculty. Among the blind the one-eyed man is king. At any rate he showed a willingness to serve the public; but he somehow so managed his private affairs, that he soon ran through what little property himself and his wife had. He seems also to have been a man fond of litigation, another trait his son William inherited. But John had his pain from this source as well as his pleasure. "His name is very often on the court records, gaining and losing suits". H.-P., II, 217, *et seq.* This was as early as 1558. But on June 19, 1576, the return made to a suit to distrain goods on his land was that he had nothing that could be distrained. On March 29, 1577, he produced a writ of habeas corpus in the Stratford court of record, which showed that he had been in custody or prison, probably for debt." Furnivall, preface to the Leopold Shakespeare. In 1592, he was one of nine persons "who came not to church for fear of prison for debt." H.-P., II, 146.

At the time of the habeas corpus matter, the boy William was thirteen years old. H.-P., 5, says: "In all probability, he (John) removed the future dramatist from school when the latter was about thirteen"; and on p. 56, we are told that, "the defective classical education of the poet" (*i. e.* of player Shaksper), "was really owing to his being removed from school before the usual age, his father requiring his assistance in one of the branches of the Henley street business."—Id. 32.

At Stratford-on-Avon, the guide shows to the admiring stranger the very desk at which boy William

studied. I read in a recent paper: "Of the few genuine relics of Shakspeare preserved in his native town, the most interesting are his signet ring and the desk at which he sat in the grammar school. . . ." Per contra, Dr. Rolfe, in the *Youth's Companion* papers before quoted, on describing the school-room, says: "A desk, said with no authority whatever, to have been used by Shakspeare, is preserved in the Henley street house."

William Winter, "Shakespeare's England," ed. 1896, p. 137, says of this ring: "Here likewise is shown a gold seal ring found many years ago in a field near Stratford Church, on which delicately engraved appear the letters W. S. It may have belonged to Shakespeare. The conjecture is that it did."*

The question is pertinent, who had that ring made and threw it into the field? There are so many forgeries in the cause of William Shaksper, that authentication is called for, as well in the case of rings as of portraits, signatures, letters, etc. The rule is never to trust an unauthenticated assertion concerning William Shaksper made by one of his devotees.

Whatever the boy may have learned at school, if he really went to school, he did not learn to write his own name, as I shall hereinafter show (Chap. XVI). That William Shaksper, player, manager, proprietor of a theater, and active business man, could at any

* Gerald Massey, *The Secret Drama of the Shakespeare Sonnets*, 1888, p. 86, has no doubt as to this ring. "It is a fact still more interesting that the seal-ring of Shakespeare, now preserved at Stratford, *the seal he used to seal his letters with*, shows the true lover's knot entwining about his initials, W. S."

time in his life use a pen at all, is more than doubtful. Whatever writing was necessary must have been done for him by other hands. That need not be surprising. Writing as we have seen was at that period a rare accomplishment, one rarely found among the class to which William Shaksper belonged. John Shaksper was innocent of the art, and yet he filled successively all the offices of the town of Stratford, made up the town accounts, and performed the duties of a magistrate. His writing was done by him by official clerks—scriveners.

CHAPTER IV.

THE YOUTH OF WILLIAM SHAKSPER.

"All that can be prudently said is that the inclination of the testimonies leans toward the belief that John Shakspeare eventually apprenticed his eldest son to a butcher." H.-P., I, 57. The Stratford tradition, first mentioned by Aubrey (about 1680), was, that "William's father was a Butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbors, that when he was a boy he exercised his father's Trade, but when he kill'd a Calfe he would do it in a high style, and make a Speech. There was at that time another Butcher's son in this towne that was held not at all inferior to him for a natural witt, his acquaintance and coetanean, but dyed young". Ingleby, 383. On this and the rest of Aubrey's account (relating to a later period), H.-P. says, preface: "Very meagre, indeed, are the fragments of information to be safely collected from Aubrey, but every word in the next traditional narrative is to be received with respect as a faithful record of the local belief. That account is preserved in minutes respecting Shakespeare (Shaksper) which were compiled by a traveler who paid a visit to the Church of Stratford-on-Avon in the year 1693. His informant was one William Castle, then the parish clerk and sexton, a person who could have had no motive for deception in such matters". The account spoken of is found in a letter from the Rev. Mr. Dowdall to

Edw. Southwell, and the original was in Halliwell-Phillipps' possession. It is dated April 10, 1693, and runs as follows (Ingleby, 417): "The first remarkable place in this County that I visited was Stratford super Avon, where I saw the effigies of our English tragedian, Mr. Shakespeare. . . . The clerk that showed me this church is above 80 years old; he says that this Shakespear was formerly in this town bound apprentice to a butcher, but that he ran from his master to London, and was there received into the playhouse as a servitour, and by this means had an opportunity to be what he afterwards proved. He was the best of his family," etc.

Phillipps says (I, 53): "The tradition reported by the parish clerk in 1693 is the only known evidence of Shakespeare's having been an apprentice, but his assertion that the poet commenced his practical life as a butcher is supported by the earlier testimony of Aubrey". This clerk, above 80 years old in 1693, was a child when William Shaksper died, 1616; and, living in the parish, of course he had known hundreds of men and women who were personally acquainted with the player, boy and man. The phenomenal Shaksper, who ran away in poverty, and who returned to Stratford the richest man of the town, would be the subject of wonder and gossip in Stratford, not only so long as he lived, but so long as any one lived there who had known him, or so long as any of his descendants lived there. The clerk's testimony, therefore, is of the utmost importance, and exceeds in value that of any other individual of whom the books speak in connection with the history of young William

Shaksper. He is an unimpeachable witness; his intelligence and respectability are vouched for by his official position.

Mr. Dowdall does not speak of Mr. Shakspere, the author of certain famous poems and plays, but the "tragedian"—the player—and plainly the clerk knew Shaksper simply as a player and rich man.

There is no getting rid of the butcher business, though it is very distasteful to the Shaksperians. Betterton, in the middle of the seventeenth century (who posed as a natural son of player Shaksper, without the least authority, the commentators agree), gave out that the boy Shaksper was brought up in the wool business, a thing he personally knew nothing about. But the testimony of the parish clerk, taken together with that of Aubrey, settles the matter. Boy Shaksper was brought up as a butcher.

"Although the information at present accessible does not enable us to determine the exact nature of Shakespeare's (Shaksper's) occupations from his fourteenth year to his eighteenth, that is to say, from 1577 to 1582, there can be no doubt that he was mercifully released from what, to a spirit like his, must have been the deleterious monotony of a school education. Whether he passed those years as a butcher or a wool dealer does not greatly matter". H.-P., I, 58. And this author goes on to say that in either capacity he was acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the world and human nature than could have been derived from a study of the classics. According to the traditions, he sowed wild oats extensively in those years, and no

doubt did reap some knowledge of the Stratford world and Stratford human nature.

Mr. Phillipps proceeds (61): "It was the usual custom at Stratford for apprentices to be bound either for seven or ten years, so that if Shakespeare (Shakspers) were one of them, it is not likely that he was out of his articles at the time of his marriage, which took place in 1582.

Little schooling, perhaps none; illiterate family, bovine neighbors; bookless town; the five best years of his life devoted to getting a knowledge of the world and of human nature as a butcher,—a more perfect knowledge, Phillipps thinks, than could have been derived from a study of the classics,—no wonder this youth speedily came to grief.

His marriage took place 28th November, 1582, when he was 18 years old: married to Ann Whately, age 27. The day before, or on 27th November, in the Consistory Court, at Worcester, in the Marriage Register, there is an entry in these terms: "1582, Nov. 27th, William Shaxper and Ann Whateley, of Temple Grafton; and on the 28th, a bond is given to the Bishop of Worcester to hold him harmless for licensing, etc., the marriage of William Shagspere and Ann Hathaway." Donnelly, 829. Mr. Donnelly gives a plausible explanation of the mystery: "Ann had been married to one Whately, and when the bride herself gave her name for the marriage license, 27th November, she gave it correctly, and she was married by that name; but the next day, when her farmer friends were called upon to furnish the bond, they gave the lawyer who drew it the name by which, in the careless

fashion of such people, she was generally known". Their first child was born within six months after, and twin children were baptized 1585, 2d July. "Some biographers have taken the ground that the smart young woman of twenty-six entrapped the boy of eighteen into this match, . . . but I fancy that the boy himself would have disdained to urge any such excuse for his conduct. William Shaksper at eighteen was not the guileless and unsophisticated country youth that the theory assumes; and I suspect that he was more to blame for the hurried match than was Ann Hathaway." Dr. W. J. Rolfe, *Ladies' Home Journal*, XII, No. 4, p. 2, 1895 (paper on Mrs. Shakspeare). The fact undoubtedly was that this lad "of spirit", having, as Phillipps suggests, been engaged in acquiring a knowledge of the world and of human nature, when he should have been at his books, had developed into a Stratford Lothario,—a homespun Don Juan.

"The general tradition among the rustics of the neighborhood was that the poet was wild in his younger days". H.-P., I, 71.

"Three or four years after his union with Ann Hathaway (Whately), he had, observes Rowe, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company; and amongst them some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing engaged him with them more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by this gentleman, etc.; . . . it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree that he was obliged to leave his business and family

for some time, and shelter himself in London". H.-P., I, 67. In plain English, he deserted his wife and babies, and it was many a long year before he came back to them.

"Another version of the narrative has been recorded by Archdeacon Davies, who was the vicar of Sapperton, in the neighboring county of Gloucester, and who died there in the year 1708"—or ninety-two years after the death of the player. "According to this authority, the future great dramatist was 'much given to all unluckiness in stealing venison and rabbits, particularly from Sir William Lucy, who had him oft whipped, and sometimes imprisoned, and at last made him fly his native country to his great advancement'. . . . It is evident therefore from the independent testimonies of Rowe and Davies that the deer-stealing history was accepted in the poet's native town, and in the neighborhood during the latter part of the seventeenth century. *That it has a solid basis of fact cannot admit of a reasonable doubt.* . . . The impressive story of the penniless fugitive who afterwards became a leading inhabitant of Stratford, and the owner of New Place, was one likely to be handed down with passable fidelity to the grandchildren of his contemporaries". H.-P. I, 69.

"That he was also nearly, if not quite moneyless, is to be inferred from tradition, the latter supported by the ascertained facts of the adverse circumstances of his father at the time rendering it impossible for him to have received effectual assistance from his parents; nor is there any reason for believing that he was likely

to have obtained substantial aid from the relatives of his wife'. Id. I, 79.

"His father was bankrupt; his own family rapidly increasing; his home was dirty, bookless and miserable; his companions degraded; his pursuits low; he had been whipped and imprisoned, and he fled penniless to the great city." Donnelly, 40.

A bright young fellow, of scanty education and indifferent morals. He has seen all he cares to of poverty and its attendant miseries, and if he can find anything to turn his hand to, he will strive for money. That is the goal he has set his heart on, and it will be found he reaches it—money, heaps of it.

"It was natural that the poet (Shaksper), having not only himself bitterly felt the want of resources not so many years previously, but seen so much inconvenience arising from a similar deficiency in his father's household, should now be determined to avoid the chance of a recurrence of the infliction." H.-P. I, 163.

Wendell says, 423: "The son of a ruined country tradesman, and saddled with a wife and three children, his business at twenty-three was to conduct his life so that he might end it, not as a laborer, but as a gentleman. After five and twenty years of steady work, this end had been accomplished." Accomplished, as to the money getting, but as to the "gentleman", that is another matter.

CHAPTER V.

WHITHER?

In view of the history of the boy and young man to his twenty-second year, as gathered from the most painstaking and trustworthy Shakspearean authorities, let us see if we can make out the sort of individual he necessarily must have been.

We have seen that the hereditary set of the brain in the Shaksper family was in any direction but that of mental cultivation; that they were a line of illiterate peasants, or at best inferior yeomen, the last member of it a humble tradesman; en masse, unable to read and write, and therefore without book knowledge.

We are told by Phillipps that the population of Stratford "was a conversational and stagnant" one; that "the large majority of the inhabitants had never in their lives traveled beyond twenty or thirty miles from their homes"; that "outside bibles, and the few elementary Latin books, there were not more than two or three dozen books in the town". We know that the only language spoken and heard was the limited patois of Warwickshire, as unintelligible to a Londoner as that of Yorkshire or Dorsetshire; we have seen the squalid environment in which the boy was born and reared; the narrow limits of his schooling, if there was any schooling at all; we have seen the butcher's apprentice and learned of his disorderly habits; of his

early and discreditable marriage, which insured his poverty, and bound him to evil companions, and to untoward conditions of every sort; and, finally, of his flight before the constable to London. In the next chapter we shall discover that on reaching London, he was at once attracted towards the public theater, the vilest place of amusement, and soon after associated himself with the players, who, in that age, were regarded as disreputable, and by the law were held to be no better than rogues and vagabonds, and who spent the greater part of every year in strolling through England. What must be the future, intellectually and morally, of a boy and youth so reared and at last sunk into that sort of companionship?

Dr. Holmes tells us that a child's training begins a hundred years before he is born; Herbert Spencer, that the great man "is a resultant of an enormous aggregate of forces that have been co-operating for ages"; that we need not expect the child to be radically different from the parents, a mathematician from one who has no sense of numbers, or a poet from one who has no ideality in his composition.

Galton begins his volume on heredity with the words: "I propose to show that a man's natural abilities are derived by inheritance." He tells us that "ability in the long run does not start into existence and disappear with equal abruptness, but rather it rises on a gradual and regular curve out of the ordinary level of family life".

"Whatever may be the natural capacity the future of the child in youth will be determined by the influences which surround him from the cradle onward."

Or, as Carlyle puts it, "early culture and nurture decide whether there shall be a doddered, dwarf bush, or a high towering, wide-spreading tree." And again, "The history of a man's childhood is the description of his parents and environment".

Dr. Weisman declares of musical genius, that "without early stimulus, and a constant opportunity of hearing and being instructed in the highest music, even the greatest genius must remain undeveloped". This is as true of literature as of music; no matter what the natural capacity may be, if there is no early stimulus, no reading of books, no training, no contact with intellectual and cultivated people, the mind will and must necessarily remain undeveloped.

Does it look as if the capitalized experience of the tribe of Shaksper was of a character and volume to make this underling at the public theater become the flower of the English race, a prodigy of learning acquired from books, as well as knowledge from observation and wisdom by introspection; the "best head in the Universe", according to Emerson; "the fullest head of which there is any record", according to Lowell; the greatest of England's poets. The thing is absolutely impossible. No child in the world's history, with such antecedents and with such conditions, the formative period of his life lost, intellectual facts and habits not acquired before manhood, ever did blossom forth as a great poet or prose writer, or literary man of any mark whatever. Youth is the only period in which intellectual habits can be formed; and that wasted, there is no remedy. Shakespeare tells us;

"This morning, like the spirit of a youth
That means to be of note, begins betimes".

Whoever heard of William Shaksper, in his irrepressible ardor for learning, as out of bed at night studying by candle light, or by the kitchen fire, like Abraham Lincoln; or up in the early morning, poring over his books? There were no books, the town was bookless. A bookless neighborhood! The future of the boy may be predicted from those two words. He may become a successful business man, a rich man, for he shares the faculty of accumulation with rats and rodents, magpies and crows, and besides he has inherited what business capacity his father and grandfather were possessed of, but a literary man of mark, never! "No matter how poor I am . . . if the writers will enter and take up their abode under my roof . . . I shall not want for intellectual companionship, and I may become a cultivated man." But to the unlettered boy in a bookless neighborhood, there is no such future. The converse of Dr. Channing's proposition is true: If the writers do not enter, etc., I may not become a cultivated man. Burns had humble beginnings, and his case has been said to run on all fours with William Shaksper's. But that is a mistake. Burns "was taught English well, and by the time he was ten or twelve years of age, he was a critic in substantives, verbs, and particles. He had a few books, among which were the Spectator, Pope's Works, Allan Ramsay, and a collection of English songs. . . . At about twenty-three, his reading enlarged. . . . What books he had, he read and studied

thoroughly." So Chambers tells us. Burns warbled his native wood notes wild in the simple language of his district, but not in Latin and Greek, in French and Italian; nor did he warble of all the sciences, and of all the philosophies, as the author of the Shakespeare plays did.

I read in the "Outlook" for 25th July, 1896, called forth by the recent Burns Centennial: "Another erroneous impression about Burns, which has been set right by time, is the once widely held belief that he was utterly without education. The 'inspired ploughman', untutored and untrained, was supposed to have sung as the bird sings or the flower grows. Those who know anything about the conditions under which strong men come to the mastery of their strength, and men of genius to the possession of their power, *know that nothing is achieved without preparation*; that the very artlessness and simplicity through which the heart speaks in entire unconsciousness *is won at the end of training, not at the beginning*. Every great artist became great by the development of the quality which is in him; he does not become great by accident."

This applies to Shakespeare, the writer of the plays, as well as to Burns; neither of them became great by accident, and neither did anything great that was not achieved by preparation. Untutored and untrained geniuses accomplish nothing.

John Bunyan was the son of a tinker, but he was taught in childhood to read and write, and although he at one time led a vagrant life, yet we find him at the age of 27 spoken of as a zealous preacher,

and for five years he pursued this calling before he was thrown into Bedford jail. There he wrote his immortal work, not in Greek and Latin, under immediate inspiration, but "in current English, the vernacular of his age,"—the only language William Shaksper could have written in, had he written at all. Also John Bunyan was thoroughly educated in the Bible, as any one could see; and such an education is second only to that in Homer.

Morse, in his *Life of Lincoln*, II, 356, brackets Lincoln and Shakespeare (of course he means the author of the Shakespeare plays, whoever he was) together, in that both seem to "run through the whole gamut of human nature". Lincoln was descended from Massachusetts Puritans, though for two generations his family, as pioneers in the wilderness, were subject to enforced illiteracy. "He did not come of a trifling, silly or stupid family", Mr. Charles A. Dana said, in his lecture on Lincoln, at New Haven. The boy Abraham had a burning thirst for knowledge. He taught himself to read all the books he could get—the Bible, Bunyan, and Æsop's Fables. "Lincoln learned to read from the spelling book and the Bible; then he borrowed *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Æsop's Fables; and would sit up half the night reading them by the blaze of the logs his own axe had split." Montgomery's *History U. S.*, 279. Later he got possession of an English Grammar, and still later of law books. He was always striving to improve himself, and his natural ability as a thinker with practice made him a clear-headed lawyer. Mr. Dana says: "He rose *by hard work* and by genius to become one

of the leading lawyers of the Illinois bar." It is always "hard work" that accomplishes anything, genius or no genius. But Lincoln did not talk and think in Latin, as the unlettered, idle boy, William Shaksper, is imagined by some of his unreflecting admirers to have been inspired to do.

Mrs. Dall (26) says: "A great deal has been said about Shakespeare's deficient education; but he had more education than many eminent men in America. One of the most widely read men I ever knew in many languages had only one six weeks schooling in his lifetime. . . . The stories of the learned blacksmith (Elihu Burritt) and of Robert Collier are familiar to this generation." But Burritt was far from being the child of unlettered parents and grandparents, in an ignorant and bookless neighborhood. He himself said, in an autobiographical letter in the Worcester Spy, of December 1, 1841: "My means of education were limited to the advantages of a district school," which ended when he was fifteen years of age, on the death of his father. He then had to go to work, and apprenticed himself to a blacksmith in his native village (New Britain, Conn.). "*Thither I carried an indomitable taste for reading, which I had previously acquired through the medium of the social library.* . . . I suddenly conceived the idea of studying Latin. Through the assistance of an elder brother, who had himself obtained a collegiate education, I completed my Virgil during the evenings of one winter", etc., etc. I fail to see anywhere resemblance between the environment of Burritt and that of Shaksper. Burritt's great lecture, delivered sixty times in the cities

and towns of the northern U. S., during the winter of 1841, was on "Application and Genius", and his argument was that genius consists in the capacity for hard work, and that nothing great is done without labor. The only man known to history who became great without study, or preparation, is this William Shaksper, as his admirers love to picture him. The suggestion of Burritt is as infelicitous as was that of Burns, or of Bunyan, or of Lincoln.

It will be well to notice here the testimony of John Milton respecting his own education, and surroundings, and habits, and dispositions, as he came close after Shaksper. Could we read such testimony of the player there would be no need of the immediate inspiration theory to account for his omniscience: "For after I had from my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father, been exercised to the tongues and some sciences, as my age could suffer, by sundry masters and teachers, it was found that whether aught was imposed upon me by them or betaken to be of my own choice, the style, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live; but much latelier, in the private academies of Italy, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabouts, met with acceptance above what was looked for; I began thus far to assent to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, *that by labor and incessant study, joined with the strong propensity of nature*, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die." Whoever was the author of the

Shakespeare plays, he was undoubtedly trained after the manner in which Milton was trained, even to the schooling in Italy.*

Early training at home, masters and teachers, study in Italy, and "labor and incessant study" always! Whenever the real author of these plays is found, that will have been his history.

* Italy in Elizabeth's age was the center of art and learning, and students from all western Europe flocked to her schools.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM SHAKSPER ON ENTERING LONDON.

“It is important to observe that all the early traditions to which any value can be attached concur in the belief that Shakespeare” (Shaksper) “did not leave his native town with histrionic intentions. . . . It is extremely unlikely that, at the age of twenty-one, he would, voluntarily, have left a wife and three children in Warwickshire, for the sake of obtaining a miserable position on the London boards.” H.-P., I, 82.

R. G. White says, (Shakespeare Studies): “When at twenty-two years of age he fled from Stratford to London, we may be sure that he had never seen half a dozen books other than his horn book, his Latin Accidence, and a Bible; probably there were not half a dozen others in all Stratford.”

As is seen, Mr. Phillipps makes Shaksper leave home at 21 years of age, or in 1585; Mr. White at 22 years, in 1586. On the other hand, Mr. Fleay brings him to London at 23 years, in 1587: “Dr. Johnson (in 1765) no doubt accurately reported the tradition of his day, when he stated that Shaksper came to London a needy adventurer, and lived for a time by very mean employments. To the same effect is the testimony given by the author of *Ratsie’s Ghost*, 1605, where the strolling player, in a passage

reasonably believed to refer to the great dramatist, observes in reference to actors: 'I have heard, indeed, of some that have gone to London very meanly, and have come in time to be exceedingly wealthy'. The author of the last named tract was evidently well acquainted with the theatrical gossip of his day, so that his nearly contemporary evidence on the subject may be fairly accepted as a truthful record of the current belief." H.-P., I, 79.

Dr. Johnson says: "When Shakspeare fled to London from the terror of a criminal prosecution, his first expedient was to wait at the door of the play-house, and hold the horses of those who had no servants, that they might be ready again after the performance; in this office he became so conspicuous for his care and readiness, that in a short time every man, as he alighted, called for Will Shakspeare, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse while Will Shakspeare was to be had. This was the first dawn of better fortune. Shakspeare, finding more horses put into his hands than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection, who, when Will Shakspeare was summoned, were to immediately present themselves, 'I am Shakspeare's boy, sir'; in time Shakspeare found higher employment". Dr. Johnson received this anecdote from Pope, to whom it had been communicated by Rowe; and it appears to have reached Rowe through Betterton and Davenant" (actors in the last half of the seventeenth century). H.-P., I, 80.

"Nothing has been discovered respecting the history of Shakspeare's early theatrical life." H.-P., I, 89.
"The actors . . . were as a rule individual wan-

derers, spending a large portion of their time at a distance from their families; and there is every reason for believing that this was the case with Shakespeare from the period of his arrival in London till nearly the end of his life. All the old theatrical companies were more or less of an itinerant character, and it is all but impossible that he should not have already (by 1587) commenced his provincial tours." H.-P., I, 95. Provincial tours—wandering from town to hamlet, from hamlet to town, leading a "blind jade and a hamper", or carrying his fardel on his back, towards every country fair the length and breadth of the land; giving shabby performances in inn-yards when in towns, or in out-houses or the open air, in the country, mounted "on boards and barrel-heads"; sleeping where night catches him, in the next hay-rick, or in the sky-parlor. We see the style in Dickens and Thackeray, two hundred and more years later, and similar vagabonds may be seen to-day at every fair in England. Nothing changes in rural England, and one age there is the same as another. Any chance for acquiring the language and manners of courts in that sort of companionship, in that sort of dog-life? Any chance for the developing one's vocabulary? Any chance for grounding oneself in the classics, or in French and Italian? Or of becoming expert in the law, or science, or philosophy? Any chance for anything but bread and meat, and coppers, and moral worsening? I should say, not much!

"It made little difference to Shakspeare practically whether his family were in London or Stratford, so long as he led the life of a player. That was a wan-

dering life, spent in travelling from province to province". Dall, 45.

"In 1587, in the spring, Shaksper gave his assent to a proposed settlement of a mortgage on his mother's Asbies estate. For ten years after there is no vestige of any communication with his family". Fleay, 8. The appearance of Shaksper in Stratford in 1587 is corroborated by H.-P.

"On 5th August, 1596, his son Hamnet died, and he unquestionably visited Stratford and renewed relations with his family at this time. . . . The natural interpretation of such records as have reached us is that it was not till touched by the hand of the great reconciler, death . . . that he ever visited his family at all during the nine years since he left them to carve his own way as a strolling player". Fleay, 28.

Lee says, 187: "It was probably in 1596 that Shakespeare returned, after nearly eleven years absence, to his native town." In the preceding paragraph, we read: "There is a likelihood that the poet's wife fared, in the poet's absence, no better than his father", (who had gone to the bow-wows). "The only contemporary mention made of her between her marriage in 1582 and her husband's death (1616) is as the borrower at an unascertained date (evidently before 1595) of forty shillings from Thomas Whittington, who had formerly been her father's shepherd. The money was unpaid when Whittington died, in 1601, and he directed his executor to recover the sum from the poet", (*i. e.*, player Shaksper) "and distribute it among the poor of Stratford."

"There is not a particle of evidence respecting his

career during the next five years" (that is to say, from 1587), "until he is discovered as a rising actor and dramatist, in 1592. This interval must have been the chief period of Shakespeare's literary education. Removed prematurely from school, residing with illiterate relations in a bookless neighborhood, thrown in the midst of occupations adverse to scholastic progress, *it is difficult to believe that, when he first left Stratford, he was not all but destitute of polished accomplishments*". H.-P., I, 95.

"Although Shakespeare had exhibited a taste for poetic composition" * (he had written the well-known lampoon of the Lucys, and the doggerel of John-a-Combe, as Mr. Phillipps has previously told) "before his first departure from Stratford, all traditions agree in the statement that he was a recognized actor before he joined the ranks of the dramatists. This latter event appears to have occurred on March 3rd, 1592, when a new drama, entitled Henry VI, was brought out", etc. Id., I, 97.

I remark here that when Mr. Phillipps says that Shaksper "is discovered as a rising actor and dramatist", or that he was a recognized actor before he joined

* Dr. Drake says, Pt. II, ch. II: "Of his inclination to this elegant branch of literature (poetry) we have an early proof, in the mode of retaliation which he adopted, in consequence of his prosecution by Sir Thomas Lucy." This well-known effusion begins.

"A parliamente member, a justice of peace,
At home a poor scare crow, at London an asse,
If Lowsie is Lucy, as some volk miscalle it,
Then Lucy is lowsie whatever befall it," etc.

the ranks of the dramatists" (in 1592), we are to understand simply that, by 1592, the plays now attributed to "Shakespeare" had begun to appear, that is all. By assuming that William Shaksper wrote these plays, he naturally makes him out a dramatist, but in his two volumes there is no reason given why he should do this,—not one word that connects William Shaksper with the authorship of the plays. Unless Mr. Phillipps can justify his action by authority, he is robbing Peter to pay Paul. Peter naturally objects.

As to Shaksper being then a recognized actor, the only proof of it adduced by Mr. Phillipps is to be found in Greene's complaint against "an upstart-crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his tyger's heart wrapped in a Player's Hide supposes that he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes-fac-totum is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country". Phillipps says, 97: "In this year (1592), as we learn on unquestionable authority" (Greene's, as above), "Shakespeare (Shaksper) was first rising into notice, so that the history then produced, now known as the 1 Henry VI, was, in all probability, his earliest, complete dramatic work. . . . Robert Greene had travestied a line from one of Shakspeare's then recent compositions, 'O tiger's heart, wrapp'd in a woman's hide'. This line is of extreme importance as including the earliest record of words composed by the great dramatist. It forms part of a vigorous speech which is as Shakesperean in its natural characterial fidelity *as it is Marlowean in its diction*". This line was from the play 3 Henry VI, and Phillipps' argument, and his

only argument, is that, because Shakespeare wrote that play, the "Shake-scene" of Greene must have been intended for that "bard of our admiration". We will see about this a little further on. There is good reason for the line quoted being Marlowean in its diction!

Turning to Ingleby, 3, he says: "That Shakespeare (Shaksper) was the upstart-crow, and one of the purloiners of Greene's plumes, is put beyond a doubt by the following considerations: 1. That there was no such word as Shake-scene (*i e.*, a tragedian).^{*} How is that for a reason? 2. That the line in italics is a parody on one which is found in "The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York, 1595, and also in Shakespeare's Henry VI, Part III, Act. I, sec. 4. 3. That Marlowe and Robert Greene were (probably) the joint authors of the two parts of the Contention, and of the True History, etc., which furnished Parts II and III of Henry VI with their *prima stamina*, and a considerable number of lines." These are the reasons given by two distinguished Shakespeare commentators for holding the Shake-scene of Greene to be William Shaksper, an obscure, and up to 1592, unmentioned and unnoticed player. The principal reason of Ingleby, which is identical with the only one of Phillipps, is that this line quoted was from a Shake-

^{*} Ingleby makes "tragedian" here synonymous with "Shake-scene"; and instances Jonson's lines—"To hear thy Buskin tread, and shake a stage"; and also a passage in *The Puritaine*, where Pye-boord says: "Have you never seen a stalking-stamping Player, that will raise a tempest with his tounge, and *thunder* with his heels",?

speare play, meaning a play written by William Shaksper. But as distinguished commentators as Ingleby or Phillipps attribute the play in question to Marlowe, or to him in collaboration with other playwrights.

"It is nearly as certain as anything can be which depends upon cumulative and collateral evidence, that the better part of what is best in the serious scenes of King Henry VI is mainly the work of Marlowe. That he is at any rate the principal author of the second and third play passing under that name among the works of Shakespeare, can hardly be now a matter of debate among competent judges". Enc. Brit., Marlowe (Swinburne).

Fleay, 118, says: "Margaret is not Shakespeare's creation; she is Marlowe's. Shakespeare had no hand in the plays on the Contention of York and Lancaster, (2 Henry VI), and but a slight one in 1 Henry VI. Marlowe had a chief hand in 1 Henry VI, and York and Lancaster; *probably wrote the whole of Richard Duke of York, 3 Henry VI.*" Marlowe was killed in a brawl 1 June, 1592, and Fleay says that his plays "The Taming of the Shrew", "Edward III", "Hamlet", and "3 Henry VI", passed from Sussex's men to Lord Strange's men, (of whom William Shaksper was one).

On 279: "The unhistorical but grandly classical conception of Margaret, the Cassandra prophetess, the Helen-Ate of the house of Lancaster, which binds the whole tetralogy (The three Henry VI and the Richard III) into one work, is undoubtedly due to Marlowe, and the consummate skill with which he has fused the heterogeneous contributions of his coadjutors in the two

earlier Henry VI plays is no less worthy of admiration."

Mr. Lee, 59, et seq., while crediting Shakespeare with the best that is in the three Henry VI plays, cannot but admit that "criticism has proved beyond doubt that in these plays Shakespeare did no more than add, revise, and correct other men's work. In the first, the scene in the Temple Garden, the dying speech of Mortimer, and perhaps the wooing of Margaret by Suffolk, alone bear the impress of his style." In the other two "the revising hand can be traced." On 61 he tells us that it was to Marlowe and Lyly that "Shakespeare's indebtedness as a writer of comedy or tragedy was material. . . . His early tragedies often reveal him in the character of a faithful disciple of (Marlowe) that vehement delineator of tragic passion. His early comedies disclose a like relationship between him and Lyly." Mr. Lee tells us that *Love's Labour's Lost* is in the style of Lyly. "Richard III and Richard II, with the story of Shylock later, plainly disclose a conscious resolve to follow in Marlowe's footsteps. . . . Throughout Richard III the effort to emulate Marlowe is undeniable. Richard II clearly suggests Marlowe's *Edward II*. Shakespeare's tragedy closely imitates Marlowe."

Marlowe's contribution to the "Shakespeare" partnership, following Meres' list of the Shakespeare's plays enumerated in 1598, was as four to twelve, and Richard III was not included in this list. It is seen above that "*Edward III*" was one of Marlowe's plays as well as "*The Taming of the Shrew*". So also probably was the *Venus and Adonis* and the *Lucrece*. It

is interesting therefore to read in the Boston Transcript of Aug. 11th, 1897, these words: "In commenting upon the recent performance in London by the Elizabethan Stage Society, Mr. William Archer writes in the London World: 'While Arden of Feversham was being recited, a still small voice in the background of one's consciousness kept up a running protest against the theory that this was the work of Shakespeare. Then came the scenes from Edward III. Before twenty lines had been spoken, the still small voice aforesaid was whispering "Shakespeare",—and even as the recitation proceeded the whisper grew louder and more emphatic, Shakespeare! Manifestly Shakespeare! Shakespeare all over! Shakespeare without the shadow of a doubt! . . . What other poet has at his command such unchastened wealth of imagery, such well-nourished smoothness of style? If this be not Shakespeare's work, all I can say is that some nameless poet has out-Shakespeare'd Shakespeare' ". Well, that is right, for Marlowe was the strongest member of the Shakespeare syndicate up to 1598, and the most prolific.

Wendell says, 71: "The weight of opinion seems to favor the supposition that Greene, Peele, Kyd, and Marlowe had a hand in them" (*i. e.* the 3 parts of Henry VI), "and so far as Shakespeare touched them, it was by way of collaboration, interpolation or revision." Curious idea, that an untaught country boy, equipped with nothing at all but an unintelligible patois, should have undertaken, or should have been employed, to revise plays written by past masters of the art of play writing, every one of them a graduate

■

of one of the great universities, and one of them Marlowe? * The proposition that Shake-scene was intended by Greene for the player Shaksper may as well be dropped from consideration if the foregoing are the only grounds in its favor.

As I have said, Phillipps brings young Shaksper to London in 1585, or 1586, he is not certain which; thinks he returned to Stratford on a visit in 1587, and he tells us there is not a particle of evidence respecting his career between 1587 and 1592. Fleay, 8, makes Shaksper leave Stratford (the first time) "in or about 1587 in company with Lord Leicester's players, who are known to have visited Stratford in 1587. There is not one iota of proof of this, but Mr. Fleay guesses it must have been so. Shaksper would then be about 23 years of age. He was, according to Phillipps, an ignorant young man, "almost destitute of polished accomplishments", who so far had "sow'd cockles, reaped no corn"; and all the authorities who accept the traditions agree that at first he got employment in London under very humble terms. He held horses outside the play house door, then was "servitour" inside, and so worked his way up. That is one view of William Shaksper. Fleay, on the other hand, starts him at once on reaching London, in 1587, studying, acting and learning how to write plays. He gives no authority whatever for doing so, but the exigencies of the case make it necessary that Shaksper should begin

* "It is worthy of remark, that all these founders and first builders-up of the regular drama in England, were, nearly if not absolutely without an exception, classical scholars, and men who had received a university education". Craik, Eng. Lit.

at once. Of course Mr. Fleay throws aside every tradition and testimony. If William Shaksper wrote the Shakespeare plays, which began to appear at least as early as 1589, or within two years after he got to London, no time was to be lost. So we read in the Hist. Lond. Stage, 74, this: "During these seven prentice years (1587 to 1594) while Shaksper was learning his business as a stage actor from Allen and Burbage, and his business as a playwright from his coadjutors, Marlowe and Peele, etc."

In the Life, 9, Mr. Fleay makes Shaksper join Leicester's players at Stratford in 1587, and (10) comes "to London as a poor strolling player ; he was



associated *already* with the most noted comedians of the time, Kempe and Pope ; and in Allen he had the advantage of studying the method of the greatest tragic actor that had yet trod the English stage.*

* I give cuts of two of Shaksper's player associates, William

But he did not remain content with merely acting; he now commenced as author." An instance of what Mr. Fleay himself styles a mischievously fertile imagination as flagrant as anything in Baynes. By

Kemp, or Kempe, and Richard Tarleton; Kempe is said by Shaksper's biographers to have been his instructor in comedy. The cut of him is copied from Rolfe's "Shakespeare the Boy", which is a fac-simile of a wood cut prefixed to Kempe's "Nine Daies Wonder". It discovers "the most noted comedian" as a jig dancer, cutting monkey shines. (Cut, preceding page).

The cut of Tarleton I have taken from a paper by Alexander Cargill, in Scribner's Magazine for May, 1891, "from a drawing published in 1792, in Mr. (Henry) Irving's collection."

On page 166, Hist. London Stage, Mr. Fleay tells us that "the time for Tarleton and Kempe clowneries and jigs had passed," etc. Why not Shaksper clowneries as well? If one of these pretty fellows was his instructor, and the other his associate, it is altogether probable that a true portrait of William Shaksper would be close to the pattern of Tarleton and Kempe.



1592, Mr. Fleay represents him as "a rising dramatist," that is a writer of plays. If that were so, of course it would follow that years must already have passed in essaying to write plays, and we are informed of much that he did before he reached that elevation. In 1589 there was performed the first play which he is known to have written. "The play of Love's Labour's Lost (first performed in 1589) *is undoubtedly in the main the earliest example left of Shakespeare's work,*" p. 103. This implies that in Mr. Fleay's opinion there were earlier plays—or there was earlier work—which has not come down to us. Most likely Mr. Fleay is correct, if by Shaksper we are to understand the author of the plays. Love's Labour's Lost may have been his first dramatic essay left, but Mr. Fleay is talking of William Shaksper, the Stratford man, the player, and that is altogether a different matter, "a horse of another color," as Shakespeare says. As Mr. Fleay puts it, this ignorant Stratford clown, whom Phillipps has told us about, *within two years after he enters London*, at which entry he necessarily spoke a dialect as unintelligible as that of a Yorkshire farmer of to-day, during the whole of which time he was employed about the theater, or in strolling up and down England, is discovered to have written a play of high life, with kings, princesses, lords, ladies, ambassadors as almost the only characters; full of Latin and French, quotations from Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, bristling with classical allusions and with learned dissertations of philology and orthography; "which were ridiculous," as Ben Jonson said of an utterance of

this player Shaksper. The modern phrase would be—"Tell that to the marines."

Horace Walpole asks: "Why are there so few genteel comedies, but because most of them are written by men not of that sphere? Etheredge, Congreve, Vanbrugh, Cibber, wrote genteel comedy because they lived in the best company; Wycherley and Dryden wrote as if they had only lived in the Rose Tavern". That is sensible. Shakespeare tells us: "Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know". What could William Shaksper know of "that sphere"? Had he "lived in the best company"? On the contrary, he lived in the lowest, most debauched and vulgar company. The comedies of William Shakespeare were "genteel comedy", and showed plainly that their author was of "that sphere", and had "lived in the best company"—a proof that ought to be convincing to every one that the player had no hand in them.

Mr. Lee also believes that *Love's Labour's Lost* was Shakespeare's first play, and discourses of it thus, 50:

"The subject-matter suggests that *its author had already enjoyed extended opportunities of surveying London life and manners*. *Love's Labour's Lost* embodies keen observation of contemporary life in many ranks of society, both in town and country, while the speeches of Biron clothe much sound philosophy in masterly rhetoric. . . . It (the plot) is not known to have been borrowed, and stands quite alone in travestying known traits and incidents of current social and political life."

Hazlitt, on *L. L. L.*, says: "The style savors more of the pedantic spirit of Shakespeare's time than of his

own genius; more of controversial divinity than of the inspiration of the muse. It transports us quite as much to the manners of the court and the quirks of courts at law, as to the scenes of nature. . . . Shakespeare has set himself to indicate the tone of polite conversation then prevailing among the fair, the witty and the learned. . . . The observations on the use and abuse of study, and on the power of beauty to quicken the understanding as well as the senses, are excellent". The husband of Ann Whately was a likely fellow to be writing on the power of beauty to quicken the understanding, and the ignoramus to be writing on the use and abuse of study! And the idea that a first effort of a youth of his caliber and experiences would treat of the usages of polite society, or should be filled with controversial divinity or quirks of courts of law, is too nonsensical for consideration. If the play in question appeared in 1589, it was written before that date, and by another hand than that of Stratford, *ex necessitate*, and the question of the authorship of the Shakespeare plays is settled right here and once for all, so far as William Shaksper is concerned. Mr. Fleay continues (13): "Love's Labour's Won must have been written about the same time as Love's Labour's Lost, and before the end of 1590, the Comedy of Errors probably appeared in its original form". (On p. 33, Mr. Fleay tells us that Much Ado About Nothing which appeared in 1598, was probably a re-cast of Love's Labour's Won"). In 1591, the Two Gentlemen of Verona and Romeo and Juliet, "as originally written by Shakespeare and some coadjutor were most likely produced".

That is to say, five plays appeared between 1589 and 1591, anonymously, acknowledged by no author, treating, as did *Love's Labour's Lost*, of high life in Italy, Sicily and Asia, which commentators have chosen—without one spark of evidence, entirely unsupported by contemporary testimony—to attribute to a practical butcher who fled in disgrace from Stratford to London in 1587; who, in London, earned his bread as a horse boy, or as attached to one of the public theaters, the then lowest place of public entertainment, not so elevated in tone or morals as is the average variety show at the close of the nineteenth century. And thousands of books, big and little, have been written to uphold this remarkable proposition, that learned writings can issue from ignorance; that a man, who in 1585 to 1587, was “all but destitute of polished accomplishments”, in 1589 was publishing, or putting on the stage, finished five-act plays, all of them describing—what? The life of the villagers at Stratford, rustic life anywhere, the experiences of a boy born and brought up as he had been? Not at all! But describing the lives of princes and princesses, lords and ladies, gentlemen, courts, camps, foreign cities, foreign manners, customs and surroundings; in short, experiences of high life of every sort, as well as all sorts of learning. All of which implies years of study, of travel, and of time spent in acquiring the knowledge to be eventually made use of in the plays. This is as true of 1587 as it would be of 1900. Mr. Phillipps’ interval of five years, during which there is not a particle of evidence respecting the career of young Shaksper, and which therefore

comes accidentally handy for the period of his education—because he either got it then, or he never got it at all—will not serve. Instead of getting his education between 1587 and 1592, if this Stratford youth was the real William Shakespeare, by 1587, he had already been educated to the highest point, and was capable of writing, and actually did write, one play after another in swift succession, so that five had appeared by 1591.*

Now, unless we are prepared to cast aside all the traditions and testimonies, as Mr. Fleay does, and start with a blank page as regards William Shaksper, we have reached an obstacle which is insurmountable, that makes it absolutely impossible that William, the aforesaid, had anything to do with the production of these plays.

Professor T. L. Baynes, also, the editor of the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the author of the wonderful life of Shakspere therein, seeing the catastrophe imminent, saves himself and his baggage by throwing overboard the testimonies and traditions and putting helm up. By this operation he escapes embarrassing difficulties. "I know nothing about William Shaksper, he is a name and nothing else. I know nothing of William Shakespeare. Go to; I

* Wendell says, p. 97: "In the course of six years at least, the years from 23 to 29, he had certainly succeeded in establishing himself as an actor, in writing, wholly or in part, at least seven noteworthy plays which have survived (*Titus Andronicus*, 3 of *Henry VI*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*) and in composing at least one poem of the highest contemporary fashion."

will create a half human, half superhuman man; the kind of man the true Shakespeare must have been as evidenced by his works, and pretend that he came from Stratford, and will call him William Shakspeare'".

Mr. Fleay's books were not written to prove that William Shaksper wrote the Shakespeare plays, but to show from internal evidence of the plays, in what chronological order they must have been written. The books evince prodigious labor, and Mr. Fleay is one of the wisest of the Shakespeare commentators. He is probably right as to the chronology, but if he had only told us what the connection was between the plays and the player William Shaksper, he would have added a thousand fold to the value of his book. Like all the rest of these commentators, he assumes the connection, but right there the Shaksper case breaks down. No man has ever proved or shown such a connection, or the probability of one, and consequently there has been a vast deal of threshing of straw.

In 1593, the *Venus and Adonis* was published by Richard Field, in whose name it had been entered in the Stationer's Register, (equivalent to copyright of later ages). There was no name of author on the title-page, but the Dedication was to the Earl of Southampton, and was signed "William Shakespeare". This is the first appearance of the name Shakespeare in literature. It was the pseudonym of a true poet and of a scholar, besides a man of the world. The author was no unlettered boy brought up among the peasants of the back counties. In the year 1594, the *Lucrece* issued by the same publisher, also without

name, and also dedicated to Southampton. As Dr. Morgan says, "almost everybody in those days dedicated things to Southampton; the dedication of poems to Southampton was rather the rule or the fashion of the time than otherwise." It did not imply acquaintance, much less intimacy, with his lordship.

"These poems are the composition of an educated mind, and of an author who was imbued with the true poetic spirit. The *Venus and Adonis* is suggested by Ovid's story in the *Metamorphoses* X, XII to XV; but there is no such servile following of its original as would have been adopted by a novice who was reading it for the first time in a translation. On the contrary, the author strikes out from it with a boldness only to be expected from an intimate familiarity with the original." T. W. White, 27.

Mr. White gives reasons which prove to him that both poems were written by Marlowe. Marlowe had the education, temperament, and ability to write such a poem as *Venus and Adonis*. William Shaksper had not the education, vocabulary, ability, or experience to write such a poem, even had he had the capacity.

"The place and value of Christopher Marlowe as a leader among English poets, it would be almost impossible for historical critics to overestimate. To none of them all perhaps have so many of the greatest among them been so deeply and so directly indebted. He first, and he alone, guided Shakespeare into the right way of work; his music, in which there is no echo of any man's before him, finds its own echo in the more prolonged but hardly more exalted harmony of Milton. He is the greatest discoverer, the most daring and in-

spired pioneer in all our poetic literature. Before him, there was neither genuine blank verse, nor a genuine tragedy in our language. After his arrival the way was prepared, the paths were made straight for Shakespeare." Swinburne, *Enc. Brit.*, "Marlowe."

Up to the beginning of 1598, seventeen of the now received Shakespeare plays had been performed, the commentators assure us, and seven of these had been printed, all anonymously. When the first play published bearing the name of Shakespeare issued, *Love's Labours Lost*, in 1598, the title page did not claim that it was written by Shakespeare, but that it was "newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakespere". So it was not till nine or ten years had passed after the first of these plays had been performed at the theater, (according to Mr. Fleay's chronology) that the name Shakespere, or Shakspere, or Shakespeare, was ever seen on the title page of a play.

I have not the least idea that *Love's Labours Lost* was written by the man who wrote *Hamlet*; or that the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* was written by that man, or that the first and last of these were written by the same man; or that the *Comedy of Errors* was written by him; or that *Troilus and Cressida* was written by the author of any one of the four. An extended analysis of these plays shows that the vocabulary of each is as distinct as if Jones and Smith and Brown and Robinson had written them. Young and inexperienced authors do not write books in different styles, with different vocabularies. When one has read *Diana of the Crossways*, he has the life-style of George Meredith; Far from the *Madding Crowd*, of

Hardy; *Pride and Prejudice*, of Jane Austen; *Waverley*, of Scott. It was thought a surprising thing when Bulwer was found to have written *The Caxtons*. He changed his style completely, but he was a writer of long experience, and deliberately set himself to the task. Bulwer died an elderly man, but he did not live long enough to enable him to discover a third style. If the five plays above-named as attributed to "Shakespeare" are in five different styles, (and the critics declare them so to be) then five men wrote them. Meiklejohn says of Shakespeare: "He has written in a greater variety of styles than any other author. 'Shakespeare,' says Professor Craik, 'has invented twenty styles.' "

Player Shaksper signed his name in a different style every time he wrote it, if we may judge by the five extant specimens claimed by his admirers to have come from his pen, although two of them were written in the same half hour, and the other three in the same ten minutes. That is proof positive that four of the five signatures, at least, were written for him by other persons. If the Shakespeare plays exhibit twenty different styles, that is proof enough that no one man, and no dozen men, wrote them. I agree with Mr. Reed, who says: "It is evident that 'Shakespeare' was a favorite nom de plume with the dramatic wits of that age;" in proof of which he calls to mind the many plays, not printed in the First Folio, which issued for years under the name of William Shakespeare.*

* Judge Stotsenborg says: "The facts justify the student in believing that the plays produced in the Elizabethan era, gen-

These anonymous plays were:

1. Henry VI, 2d Part, 1594.
2. Henry VI, 3d Part, 1595.
3. Richard II, 1597.
4. Richard III, 1597.
5. Romeo and Juliet, 1597.
6. Henry VI, 1st Part, 1596.

During the next years certain of the series of plays afterwards called "Shakespeare's" were printed under the name either of Shakespeare or Shake-speare (with a hyphen); while others of the same series, and new editions of the older, anonymous, plays were printed without name. Other plays which were not included in the Folio of "the collected works of William Shakespeare", in 1623, and which are not to-day attributed to that author, bore the same imprinted name of Shakespeare.

erally speaking, were the work of collaborators. I get this from the best authority of that period, viz., the diary of Philip Henslowe. This diary contains minute, truthful, and valuable information respecting the history and condition of the English drama from 1591 to 1609. It contains the names of plays identical with or very similar to the titles of the Shakespeare plays. It nowhere mentions Shaksper's name; it shows that the English dramatists wrote plays and sold them for trifling sums to Henslowe; it shows that these plays thereafter became the property of Henslowe, or of his company of actors; it shows that certain dramatists were employed and paid by Henslowe to revise and dress and adapt the popular plays so purchased, to suit the tastes of the frequenters of the theater; and it also shows that the principal plays were composed hurriedly by collaborators, by two or three, and then again by four, five or six playwrights, who, after they received their pay, cared nothing more for their productions."—Ind. News, 5th May, 1897.

These were :

Locrine,	1595.
Sir John Oldcastle,	1600.
Thomas Lord Cromwell,	1600.
Edward III,	1600.
The Birth of Merlin,	1600.
Mucedorus,	1600.
Merry Devil of Edmonton,	1600.
The London Prodigal,	1605.
Puritan Widow of Watling St.,	1607.
Arthur of Feversham,	1608.
Yorkshire Tragedy,	1608.
Arraignment of Paris,	1608.

The name "Shakespeare" was used for the work of a number of authors. But there is no evidence that it was put on the title page of a play by any authority other than that of the printers.* The *Venus and Lucrece* had been popular, and had run through many editions. Apparently, the printers, or some of them—for there were several concerned—thought that the pseudonym of the author of these poems was a good one to help sell plays, and clapped on their books the name of "William Shakespeare." In 1599, Jaggard printed as "William Shakespeare's", a volume of poems under the title of the *Passionate Pilgrim*. This contained four sonnets (by Shakespeare) and one poem from *Love's Labours Lost*; the larger part of the volume was made up of verses by Barnfeild and other authors. Fleay, *Life*, 137. Collier says, *Life*, 6, "The

*Thus, Lee, 301: "The sixteen Quartos were publishers' ventures, and were undertaken without the co-operation of the author."

most noticeable proof of the advantage which a book-seller conceived he should derive from the announcement that the work he published was by our poet, is afforded by the title page of his dispersed sonnets, which was ushered into the world as 'Shakespeare's Sonnets' in very large capitals, as if that mere fact would be held sufficient recommendation." *

No objection, so far as now appears, was made by anybody having an interest in the plays, and presently it became to be the custom to print under the same name, and the world accepted this sobriquet as the true title of the unknown author or authors. As early as 1595, it had apparently been suspected that the author of the *Venus and Adonis* had written a play, for we find John Weever, in that year, (Ing. 16), publishing some lines beginning

"Honie-tong'd Shakespeare, when I saw thine issue,
I swore Apollo got them and none other,
.
Rose—check't Adonis
Chaste Lucretia
Romea-Richard, more whose name I know not," etc.

* "Owing perhaps to the apathy exhibited by Shakespeare (Shaksper) on this occasion," *i.e.* the Jaggard publication—"a far more remarkable operation in the same kind of knavery was perpetrated in the latter part of the following year by the publisher of the First Part of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle, 1600, a play, &c. Although this drama is not only known to have been composed by other dramatists, but also to have belonged to a theatrical company with whom Shakespeare (Shaksper) had then no connection, it was unblushingly announced as his work by the publisher, Thomas Pavier. Two editions were issued in the same year by Pavier, the one most largely distributed being that which was assigned to the pen of the great dramatist and another to which no name was attached." H.-P., I, 180.

What the Romea was does not appear. It could not have been the Romeo and Juliet of Shakespeare, because that was first played in 1596, according to Philipps, and the first quarto of the play bears the date 1597. The Richard may have been Richard III., and if that and the poems were written by Marlowe, Meres would have guessed correctly.

No other mention of the name (Shakespeare) occurs until 1598, when, spelled Shakespere, it appeared for the first time on the title page of a play, *Love's Labour's Lost*. Then, that same year, we have Francis Meres attributing by their names twelve plays to "Shakespeare", to-wit, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Won*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Merchant of Venice*, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, seven, none of which had been published; and *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, five, which had been published anonymously, with the exception of *Love's Labour's Lost*, just out. In the same connection, Meres attributes to Shakespeare the *Venus*, the *Lucrece*, and "his sugred sonnets among his private friends."

Therefore, up to 1598, nine years after William Shaksper is credited by Mr. Fleay with bringing out the play of *Love's Labour's Lost*, "Shakespeare" had been mentioned by contemporary writers, Ingleby being witness, but three times; once by an anonymous author, in 1594, who spoke of *Lucrece* only; once, in 1595, by Weever, who spoke of the poems, and also of *Romea-Richard*; once, 1595-6, by Carew, who compares Shakespeare with Catullus; ("Will you read Virgil? Take the Earl of Surrey. Catullus? Shake-

speare and Marlowe's fragments'',—referring to the poems). That is all to Meres. One man, namely, Weever, in 1595, suspected that the hand which wrote the *Venus* also wrote *Richard*, but not another contemporary in the years up to 1598 spoke of the Shakespeare of the *Venus* and *Adonis* as the writer of plays; and certainly no one hinted, and there is no evidence extant that any one thought, ("for what his heart thinks, his tongue speaks", as Shakespeare says), or dreamed, that it was a player at a public theater, one Shaksper or Shaksper or Shaksberd, who was turning out these fine things. That is very curious, in the light of the modern theory of the authorship, and is suggestive. It shows for one thing, that by 1598, or within eleven or twelve years after the player Shaksper became connected with the theater, there was no knowledge and no claim that the player William Shaksper was the author of the Shakespeare plays or poems. According to Ben Jonson (*Discoveries*) this player was a rattle-headed man, often talking too much, and thus making himself ridiculous—the last man to hide his light under a bushel. Had he written any sort of a play, he would have cackled everlastingly; had he been capable of writing a Shakespeare play, he would not have been rattle-headed, and would not have been found in the company of those players.

Up to 1598, then, the Shaksper myth had not got a start, and as I shall in due time show, it never did get a start till years after the player was dead, or in 1623, and then a discreditable one.

As to player Shaksper, or the manager of the Curtain Theater, all he had to do with these matters was

to take what the gods provided. Here were plays running loose, and his public theater might find in one or other of them special scenes to use as interludes, or in pantomime, or travesty, that would amuse an ignorant and brutal audience, murders by wholesale, or wholesale ribaldry. Had he been either writer or owner of the plays, they never would have been printed. It was not to the interest of a theater that its stock of plays, interludes, shows, should be given to the public. They formed the capital of the company and were guarded with jealous care.* Drake, Part II, chapter 7, says: "The author either sold the copyright of his plays to the theater, or retained it in his own hands. In the former instance . . . the proprietors of the theater took care to secure the performance of the piece exclusively to their own company," and it was their "interest to defer its publication as long as possible". Where a play was sold to the theater, and the booksellers found ways to put it on the market, the manager of the company, whoever he was, would have made a great outcry against such a wrong, not merely a wrong but a robbery, and although there was no copyright at that day, (Drake was in error in using the word copyright), he had his remedy at common law. Where he had not sold the play, but retained it in his own hands—had the manager been also the author, and that author William Shaksper, of the Curtain or the Globe—he

* "The play-house authorities deprecated the publishing of plays in the belief that the dissemination in print was injurious to the receipts of the theater." Lee.

certainly would have protected himself against the publishers.

This man was very sensitive in his pocket-nerve. After he had become rich, if a neighbor owed him two and sixpence, he would hale him before a justice, and for a little larger sum, would show him the inside of the goal.

Had William Shaksper been the writer or owner of one of these plays, it would never have been printed while he was connected with a theater. The commentators tell us that in several cases the published Quartos are the best authorities. Gollancz says that the second Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* "is our best authority for the play", though, as he tells us, the text of the First Folio was taken from the third Quarto (1609). Knight says of the same play: "There can be no doubt whatever that the corrections, augmentations and emendations of the second edition (second Quarto) of *Romeo and Juliet* (1599) were those of the author. We know of nothing in literary history more curious or more instructive than the example of minute attention as well as consummate skill, exhibited by Shakespeare in correcting, augmenting and amending the first copy of this play".* If then, William Shaksper was the author of the play in question, he was himself supplying the booksellers with a carefully revised and amended copy of the play

* Mr. Lee says, 90: "Except in the case of his two narrative poems, Shakespeare" (meaning Shaksper), "made no effort to publish any of his works, and uncomplainedly submitted to the wholesale piracy of his plays. . . . Such practices were encouraged by his passive indifference,"

instead of preserving it for the theater, a proceeding adverse to his own interest, or that of the Curtain or Globe—supposing that the play was written for the Curtain or Globe, or was ever performed at either of those theaters.

In the same way, the second Quarto of Hamlet (1604) is stated by Fleay to be superior to the Folio version, and to be “in the best shape fitted for private reading”, whilst the Folio version is inferior, “shortened for stage representation”. Plainly, Wm. Shaksper, as manager of the theater, could not have consented to such publication, yet if he was the author, no one but himself furnished the printers with the manuscript of his play in the best shape fitted for for private reading. Heminge and Condell, in the preface to the First Folio, are made to say that the plays given in that volume are as the author conceived them, and they stigmatize the Quartos as stolen and surreptitious, published by impostors. Evidently, the writer of that preface held that Wm. Shaksper did not countenance them, and had no interest in them.

The Venus and Adonis is prefaced with a quotation of two lines from Ovid. Dr. Baynes, Professor in St. Andrew's University, p. 107, “Shakespeare Studies”, says that “these lines are taken from a poem of which there existed at the time no English version”, and that “the quotation is one from which the circumstances of the case *could hardly have been chosen by any one who did not know the original well*”. I agree to that certainly. It has been noted by the commentators that to dedicate a work at that day to a noble lord without special permission would have been a great piece of impertinence,

and in fact an unheard of thing; hence it has been inferred that the player Shaksper (assumed to be the same with William Shakespeare) must have been on friendly terms with Southampton. There is not the least evidence that one ever spoke to the other. Chettle's line "that divers of worship have taken him up", refers to Marlowe, not Shaksper, as the Shaksperians have been fond of claiming in evidence of the Stratford man's familiarity with Southampton, Essex and others of the nobility. Fleay, 110.

"In the sixteenth century, in England, a great and impassable gulf lay between the quality, the gentry, the hereditary upper class, and the common herd who toiled for a living." Donnelly, 55. Of the common herd, a player belonged to the bottom stratum, despised, the impersonation of everything that was vile. Hence, it is not a matter of wonder that there is no evidence that any man "of worship" ever had any acquaintance, to say nothing of intimacy, with player Shaksper, notwithstanding current impressions to the contrary.

Malone, in his Inquiry, 1796, addressed to Lord Charlemont, apropos of Ireland's forged familiar correspondence with Southampton (letters from Wm. Shakspeare to the Lord, and *vice versa*)*, says, p. 181: "I will not take up your Lordship's time on this in-

* "An Inquiry into the Authenticity of certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments published December 24, 1795, and attributed to Shakspeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry, Earle of Southampton; by Edmund Malone, Esq., London, 1796". This book is an exposure of the Ireland forgeries, and served the purpose thoroughly.

auspicious commencement, which every one, at all acquainted with the manner of that day, knows was not the language of a nobleman to a person at the *immeasurable distance* at which Shakspeare stood from Lord Southampton. Had he condescended to write to our poet, he would without doubt have begun with Mr. Shakspeare, or Good Master Shakspeare or Good William, or some other similar form." The fact that the poems were dedicated to Southampton indicates no personal acquaintance with that nobleman on the part of the poet, but the enterprise and impudence of the publishers rather.

It must not be forgotten that players were vagabonds by law. "As play acting was not recognized as a craft, they (the players) became in the eye of the law rogues and vagabonds, men with no obvious means of livelihood, and as such, liable to be taken up and punished by whipping, fine or imprisonment. Finding themselves in this predicament, they applied to the Earl of Leicester, who obtained for them a protecting license from the Queen, contingent upon their good behavior, and liable to be taken away at any time.*

"Thus the Queen's players became licensed Vagabonds as the Queen's Bedesmen were Licensed Beg-

* An act of 1572 (14 Eliz.) enacted that "all fencers, bearwards, common players of interludes and minstrels (not belonging to any baron of this realm, or to any honorable other person of greater degree) wandering abroad without the license of two justices, at the least were subject to be grievously whipped and burned through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about." Enc. Brit., 9th Ed.

gars. It was in this class William Shaksper belonged". Smith, 59. "The license was not so much a mark of approbation, but of toleration; it was not so much to secure them certain privileges, as to confine them within due limits, and render them promptly amenable to the law. Thus the last clause in the order of the Privy Council openly states "that for breaking any of these orders, their toleration cease". Id., 68. "Wm. Shaksper connected himself with a class that was held in the utmost contempt", and "the theater with which he was connected was the Public Theater—the lowest place at which dramatic entertainments were then represented." Id., 145.

Dr. Ingleby says of the players of that day: "Let their lives be as cleanly and their dealings as upright as they might, they were deemed to be *sans aveu*, run-aways and vagabonds."*

* More or less of this prejudice prevailed two hundred years later. In Mrs. Thrale's Memoirs, we read: "On the announcement of her marriage (with Piozzi, an Italian gentleman, but a professional musician) . . . people of our day can hardly form a notion of the storm of obloquy that broke upon her. To appreciate the tone taken by her friends, we must bear in mind the social position of Italian singers and musical performers at the period. 'Amusing vagabonds' are the epithets by which Lord Byron designated Catalini and Naldi in 1809, and such is the light in which they were undoubtedly regarded in 1784. . . . Lord Macaulay says that she fled from the laughter and hisses of her countrymen and countrywomen to a land where she was unknown." . . . Further: "Johnson was writing to Hawkins that the woman he had once called his mistress had become a subject for her enemies to exult over, and for friends, if she had any left, to forget or pity".

Boswell records this story in 1777:—"We walked over to

This opprobrium, it seems, attached also to the writers of plays: "Of the contempt entertained for the actor's profession, some fell to the share of the dramatist; 'even Lodge', says Dr. Ingleby, 'who had indeed never trod the stage, but had written several plays, and had no reason to be ashamed of his antecedents, speaks of the vocation of the play-maker as sharing the odium attached to the actor' ". Enc. Brit., Drama.

Fleay, Hist., 206, says: "The statute of 39 Eliz. (1587) had expressly included 'common players' among the persons whom noblemen might license (*i. e.* to stroll, travel), and so had the statute of 14 Eliz. (1572)." But the statute of 1 James (1604) changed this. It "enacts that noble personages shall authorize none to go abroad (*i. e.* to stroll). From 1604 onward any such strollers were ranked as vagabonds and sturdy beggars, along with gipsies, minstrels, and pedlars."

Froude, Hist. Eng., ch. 1, says: "It was the expressed conviction" (through the vagrant Acts of Henry and Elizabeth) "of the English nation, that it was better for a man not to live at all than to live a profitless and worthless life. The vagabond was a sore

Richardson's, and I wondered to find him displeased that I did not 'treat Cibber with more respect.' "

Johnson :—"Now, sir, to talk of respect for a player." (Smiling disdainfully.)

Boswell :—"There, sir, you are always heretical; you never will allow merit to a player".

Johnson :—"Merit, sir, what merit? Do you respect a rope-dancer or a ballad-singer? . . . What, sir, a fellow who claps a hump on his back, and a lump on his leg, and cries 'I am Richard the Third'? Nay, sir, a ballad-singer is a higher man," etc., etc.

spot upon the commonwealth, to be healed by a wholesome discipline if the gangrene was not incurable; to be cut away with the knife if the milder treatment of the cart whip failed to be of profit."

"The Venus and Adonis is the most carefully polished production that Willliam Shakespeare's name was ever signed to; and moreover, as polished, elegant and sumptuous a piece of rhetoric as English letters have ever produced". Morgan, 41.

It is a strange thing, and the more so, inasmuch as the young Shaksper could have known no other language than the Warwickshire patois when he went to London, that in the Venus and Adonis there is not one word exclusively of Warwickshire. "The people of Warwickshire spoke a patois as different from the English of the London Court, as the Lowland Scotch of Burns is to-day different from the English of Westminster". Donnelly, 43. If any dialect words at all were used in the Venus and Adonis, they are common to many counties, or are classical English. "It further appears that there are in this entire poem of 1194 verses, scarcely a score of words, to comprehend which, even to the most ordinary English scholar of to-day, would need a lexicon. But on examining these words, it will be found that they are early English, mostly classical, never in any sense local or sectional." Morgan's *Venus and Adonis, A study in the Warwickshire dialect*", 152: "Could Venus and Adonis have been written by one Warwickshire born and bred, in the reign of Elizabeth who had not been first qualified by drill in the courtly English in which we find that poem written? A man of education and

culture, practised in English composition, may forge the style of a letterless rustic. Thackeray has done this, and Lowell, and Dickens, and hundreds of others. But could a letterless clown forge the style of a gentleman of culture? Tennyson could write the 'Northern Farmer' in Lincolnshire dialect. But could a Lincolnshire farmer, who knew nothing of any vernacular except the Lincolnshire, have written the *Princess* or *In Memoriam*?" Id. 139. A good deal has been said in Shakespeare Society gatherings, or in lectures on Shakespeare, about the use of the Warwickshire dialect in the plays, the inference being that no one but a Warwickshire man could have written them. I have quoted Dr. Morgan's valuable book on the Warwickshire dialect in *Venus and Adonis* to the effect that there is not in the entire poem one word exclusively Warwickshire. As to the plays, Dr. Morgan, 10, says: "The Shakespeare plays contain not only Warwickshire, but specimens of about every other known English dialect. . . . The condition in life implied by a man's employment of one patois would seem to dispose of the probability of his possessing either the faculties or the inclination of acquiring a dozen others. The philologist or archæologist may employ or amuse himself in collecting specimens of dialect and provincialisms. . . . In the plays, where the Shakespearean character happens to be a Warwickshirean, he will be found to speak that dialect, and not otherwise. . . . In these plays, however a Roman or a Bohemian may use an English idiom, there is no confusion in the dialects when used as dialects, and not as vernacular. The

Norfolk man does not talk Welsh, nor the Welshman Leicestershire; nor does the Warwickshire man use Welsh-English."

One of Dr. Morgan's conclusions (149) is this: "That the Shakespeare Works are a storehouse of Elizabethan English in all of its many varieties and variations, its dictions, vernaculars and dialects, from the most refined, splendid and courtly to the rudest and crudest". And another conclusion is: "That the poem *Venus and Adonis* is apparently the monograph of a poet able to confine himself to the most refined, most splendid, and courtliest of these dialects—and to resist any temptation of vicinage, heredity, or contemporary corruptions". The question naturally arises, were not these works therefore beyond the possibility of William Shaksper?

The celebrated picture of the horse in *Venus and Adonis* is "borrowed word for word from Du Bartas. Here are all Shakespeare's phrases as they occur in that description, and in brackets those of his original: Round-hoofed [round-hoof]; short-jointed [short-pasterns]; broad breast [broad breast]; full eye [full eye]; small head [head but of middle size]; nostrils wide [nostrils wide]; high crest [crested neck, bowed]; straight legs [hart-like legs]; and passing strong [strong]; thin mane [thin mane]; thick tail [full tail]; broad buttock [fair fat buttocks]; tender hide [smooth hide]." *Quarterly Review* (London), No. 356, April, 1894, p. 348. Now Du Bartas was a French poet, and his work (on Creation, embracing said description) was first translated into English in 1598, after the publication of the *Venus and Adonis*.

Was it likely that Du Bartas, in the original, was to be found in Stratford, that "bookless neighborhood", or that William Shaksper should have been able to read it if it were?

Of this remarkable poem, *Venus and Adonis*, Professor Baynes said in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1879-80: "On becoming firmly established in his new career as playwright and dramatic proprietor, he (Shaksper) recalled and prepared for the press his early poetical studies, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*. They are wonderful poems to have been produced by an English youth—written in the country between the years 1580 and 1586-7" (that is, between the ages of 16 and 22 or 23 years, during which time the boy and young man was leading the practical life of a butcher). "The marvel is, that they should have been produced by a 'prentice hand' in a small provincial town. . . . It (the *Venus and Adonis*) was founded upon no model, either ancient or modern; nothing like it had ever been attempted before, and nothing compared to it was produced afterwards." He quotes Mr. Collier as saying: "We feel morally certain *Venus and Adonis* was in being prior to Shakspeare's quitting Stratford. . . . We know that Shakspeare was a diligent student of Ovid's methods of dealing with mythological fable. . . . The full, sensuous, pictorial treatment of his theme in *Venus and Adonis* and the *Lucrece* is thoroughly Ovidian." And Mr. Baynes gives several pages to quotations from these poems to show how close to Ovid they are. Of course, the nearer they are to Ovid, the more certain it is that young Shaksper had nothing to do with them.

On the other hand, Halliwell-Phillipps says: "It is extremely improbable that an epic so highly finished, and so completely devoid of patois, could have been produced under the circumstances of his then domestic surroundings, while, moreover, the notion is opposed to the best and earliest traditional opinions." I. 104.

No direct testimony has come to us from William Shaksper's contemporaries about his theatrical career. There are vague traditions, but no reliable or contemporary evidence. In a very few instances he is alluded to as a player, but as to his playing no one said anything. Now and then the bare mention of his name as connected with a company or a theater occurs, but no further information is given. There are extant proofs that he was a shareholder in the Globe, and that he retired to Stratford about 1610, a rich man. As to writing plays, as I shall in due time show, no one during his life, (to 1616) or after his death, to the publication of the First Folio of the collected plays of William Shakespeare, 1623, testified in any sort of literature that this man wrote plays of any kind. The whole course of his life, so far as it is known, was inconsistent with writing of plays. The myth that William Shaksper was the man who wrote the plays called "Shakespeare's", had its genesis in 1623, seven years after Shaksper's death, by what may be termed an accident, and grew with exceeding slowness—so much so, indeed, that by the time it had fairly become able to stand alone, it was too late to get at any facts of the reputed author's life, or anything whatever connected with the plays. All that could be learned then was from the remembrances of some old persons of

Stratford, who had known the player before he went to London, or after he came back, or from traditions which reached the next generations. Not a soul would appear to have been then alive in London who could give any personal testimony as to his life there, or as to his authorship of the plays, or to the quality of his playing. The first notes by any inquirer into the facts relating to Shaksper were made in 1662 by Ward, the next by Aubrey, at about 1680. Nothing in the memoranda of either of these is of the slightest bearing on the authorship of the Shakespeare plays. The next inquirer was Dowdall, in 1693, who talked with the old sexton, and soon after, Davies added a few biographical notes relating to Shaksper in a manuscript biographical dictionary he owned. H.-P., I, p. 11. That is all that was picked up and made of record during the rest of the seventeenth century after Shaksper's death, and what there is, not merely gives no help towards the mystery of the authorship of the plays, but is entirely of a character to forbid the supposition that the Stratford man ever had anything to do with the plays.

Next came Nicholas Rowe (1709, ninety-three years after the player died), who "was the first editor of Shakespeare entitled to the name, and the first to attempt the collection of a few biographical particulars of the immortal dramatist." (That is to say of the Stratford man, William Shaksper.) Chambers' Enc.

Rowe has only narrated certain gossip on the authority of Betterton—player from 1661 to 1709—and D'Avenant, manager of one of the theaters before, and again after, the civil war. From these two men Rowe could

pick up nothing of William Shaksper's London career, but this: "He was received into the company then in being at first in a very mean rank, but his admirable wit, and the natural turn of it to the stage soon distinguished him, if not as an extraordinary actor, yet as an excellent writer. . . . Though I have inquired I never could meet with any further account of him this way than that the top of his performance was the Ghost of his own Hamlet."

Betterton made a special journey into Warwickshire "to gather up what remains he could", and all he got was that the "latter part of Shaksper's life was spent in the retirement and conversation of his friends; that he had the good fortune to gather an estate equal to his wish, and spent some years in his native Stratford"; and "his wit and good nature entitled him to the friendship of the gentlemen of the neighborhood", one of whom was "Mr. Combe, noted for his wealth and usury". On this Combe, Rowe says that Shaksper made an impromptu epitaph: "Ten-in-the-hundred lies here ingraved", etc., the doggerel we have all heard of, and he adds, "the sharpness of the satyr is said to have stung the man so severely that he never forgave it. He (Shaksper) dy'd and was bury'd, and left three daughters. . . . This is what I could learn of any note relating to himself or family".*

* R. G. White, *Memoirs*, says "that Betterton visited Shaksper's native place probably between 1670 and 1675 for the express purpose of gathering materials for his biography. All that he learned was probably embodied by Rowe in the account of the poet's life which appeared in Rowe's edition, published in 1709."

Plainly, there was nothing to be gathered either in London or in Stratford of the least moment. The man was forgotten in London before his bones had moldered, and in Stratford was remembered only as a rich man, who had come from London and resided there the last years of his life.

That is all that was discovered of William Shaksper or related of him till Edmund Malone at the close of the eighteenth century began to investigate. Morgan, 177, says: "With the most painstaking care he sifted every morsel of testimony, searching in histories, chronicles, itineraries, local traditions, and reports—but in vain. The nearer he came to the Stratford man, the further he got from a poet and student". Malone says: "That almost a century should have elapsed from the time of Shakespeare's (Shaksper's) death, without a single attempt to discover any circumstance which should throw a light on the history of his life or literary career . . . are circumstances which cannot be contemplated without astonishment. . . . Sir William Dugdale, born in 1605, and educated at the school of Coventry, 20 miles from Stratford-on-Avon, and whose work 'The Antiquities of Warwickshire', appeared in 1646, only thirty years after the death of our poet, we might have expected to give some curious memorials of his illustrious countryman. But he has not given us a single particular of his private life. The next biographical printed notice that I have found is in Fuller's 'Worthies', folio, 1662; in 'Warwickshire', p. 116, where there is a short account of our poet, furnishing very little information concerning him. And

again, neither Winstanley in his 'Lives of the Poets', 1687; Langbaine, in 1691; Blount, in 1694; Gibbon, in 1699, add anything to the meagre accounts of Dugdale and Fuller. That Anthony Wood, who was himself a native of Oxford (in the same county), and who was born about fourteen years after the death of Shakspeare, should not have collected any anecdotes of Shakspeare has always appeared to be extraordinary. Though Shakspeare had no direct title to a place in the 'Athenae Oxonienses,' that diligent antiquary could easily have found a niche for his life as he had done for many others not bred at Oxford. The life of Davenant afforded him a very full opportunity for such an insertion."

"Mr. Malone, in spite of the silence of the authorities to whose page he had recourse, not only assumed all he could not find authority for, but undertook to tell us the precise date at which his Stratford lad composed his plays. . . . From the time of Malone, the Shakespeare making, Shakespeare mending and cobbling, have gone on without relaxation. From Malone downward, the Shakspeareans have rejected every shred of fact they found at hand, and weaved, instead, their warp and woof of fiction around a vision of their own." Morgan, 85, *et seq.*

And now, nearly three hundred years after William Shaksper died, commentators have arisen who undertake to decide out of their own consciousness what he did or did not do, what he did or did not write, and they give minute details of his school life, of his career in London, how he gained the knowledge that enabled him to write the Shakespeare poems and plays, and

the circumstances under which each play was composed, and the sequence in which they were written. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps is sufficiently inclined to give facts which are no facts, in his 'Outlines', but he cannot stand the presumption of the recent biographers, and relieves his soul as follows: "But in like manner as there have arisen in these days critics who, 'dispensing altogether with the old contemporary evidences'—(that hits Baynes and Fleay and Lee)—"can enter so perfectly into all the vicissitudes of Shakespeare's intellectual temperament, that they can authoritatively identify at a glance every line that he did write, and with equal precision every sentence that he did not write"—(that whacks the critics who give out silly twaddle about stop't lines, metrical tests, light endings and weak endings)—"even so there are others to whom a picture's history is not of the slightest moment, their reflective instincts enabling them without effort or investigation to recognize in an old curiosity shop the dramatist's visage"—(the Becker death mask)—"that once belonged to the author of Hamlet." I, 297. And the old gentleman sorrowfully adds: "Lowlier votaries can only bow their heads in silence."

No one during William Shaksper's life, or after his death, 1616, up to 1623, is known to have declared or written in book, note-book, or letter, that he was the author of the Shakespeare plays, or even of a single play of that series; and there is not the least evidence that any cultivated man of that day ever thought that he was the author. Yet, on so slight a foundation, as a distant resemblance in the sound of the two names,

Shaksper and Shakes-speare, by aid of surmises, assumptions, lies and forgeries, and what Fleay calls "mischievously fertile imaginations", a vast superstructure has been reared, and all the world is to-day admiring it. All the world is crediting a buffoon, a degraded strolling player, the disciple and associate of Kemp, whose portrait Dr. Rolfe has favored us with, with the authorship of the greatest works of imagination, learning and philosophy which the English language can show.

The Sultan looked over the way one morning to discover only an open place where a wonderful palace had delighted him the day before and for many days, and the Chronicle says that he rubbed his eyes, but still could see nothing; he stood some time endeavoring to comprehend how so large a palace should so suddenly and so completely vanish. Some day, and not long hence, the Shaksper piece of architecture will dissolve as did that ancient palace, and a good many critics and commentators will rub their eyes in vain, and wonder whether they have not been in a dream.

CHAPTER VII.

THE THEATERS IN LONDON.

Let us look at the theater of 1580-1610, during the period while William Shaksper was in one way or another connected with it, and see what sort of a place it was, what the players were, the character and style of the playing, and what sort of audiences frequented it.

Taine, *English Literature*, ch. 2, says: 'The theaters were great and rude contrivances, awkward in their construction, barbarous in their appointments, open to the sky as to the pit, admittance to which was one penny. If it rained, and it often rains in London, the people in the pit, butchers, mercers, bakers, sailors, apprentices, received the streaming rain on their heads. . . . While waiting for the piece, they amuse themselves after their fashion, drink beer, crack nuts, eat fruit, howl, and now and then resort to their fists; they have been known to fall upon the actors, and turn the theater upside down. . . . When the beer took effect, there was a great upturned barrel in the pit, a peculiar receptacle for general use. The smell rises and then comes the cry 'Burn the juniper'! They burn some in a plate on the stage, and the heavy smoke fills the air. . . . Above them on the stage were the spectators able to pay a shilling, and gentlefolk. If they chose to pay an extra shilling, they could have a stool; if there were not stools enough, then they lie down on the ground. They

play cards, smoke, insult the pit, who give it back without stinting, and throw apples at them into the bargain. . . . There were no preparations or perspectives, few or no movable scenes. A scroll, in big letters announces to the public that they were in Rome or Constantinople," etc., etc. *The burden of entertaining the audience rested with the clown*, and the female characters were personated by boys and men.

Sir Philip Sidney, describing the state of the drama, and the stage in his time, about 1583, says: "Now you shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then you must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by, we have news of the shipwreck in the same place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the meantime two armies fly in, represented by four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field."

"In these primitive theaters no scenery was used; that was first introduced by Davenant after the Restoration. A curtain met the spectators on entering; it was then slowly drawn up; and he saw a large stage strewn with rushes, the side walls hung with arras; a large board with a name printed on it, Westminster, Messina, etc., informed him where the scenes of the play to be performed was laid." *Enc. Brit.*, 9th Ed., Vol. VIII, 420.

Mr. Phillipps says, I, 372: "The charge for admission to the 'Theater' was a penny; but this sum merely entitled the visitor to standing room in the lower part

of the house; if he wanted to enter any of the galleries, another penny was demanded. . . . The probability is, that the penny alone was insufficient for securing places which would be endured by any but the lowest and poorest class of auditors, those who stood in the yard or pit, and were thus exposed to the uncertainties of the weather." Also Vol. I, 184: "There was no movable or other kind of scenery." On page 183, he describes the Globe theater, built in 1600, thus: "The building was constructed of wood, and was partially roofed with thatch, but the larger part of the interior was open to the sky. In the absence of a roof, the pit and much of the other part of the building obliquely exposed to the rays of the sun, both visitors and actors must on occasions have found the Globe, even in the summer time, exceedingly uncomfortable. The extent of the inconvenience that was endured there in the month of February, and in muggy Southwark, almost defies conjecture. . . . It is scarcely necessary to observe that the current of air engendered by the open roof *would have rendered a performance by candle-light an impossibility.* There was a building so diminutive that the remotest spectator could hardly have been more than a dozen yards or thereabouts from the front of the stage," etc.

Allowing the pit to have been twelve yards square in area, and four persons to the yard, there would be a total of 576 spectators in the pit. When Mr. Phillipps tells us, I, 98, that ten thousand spectators witnessed the performance of Henry VI, he means that on successive days of performance the number of spectators was considerable. On page 177, the same

author speaks of the "diminutive boards of the Curtain theater."

Dowden, 47, says: "In all that is external and mechanical, the theater was still comparatively rude. During Shakspeare's connection with the stage, the buildings used for dramatic entertainment were of two classes—public theaters and those which were called private. The public theaters" (the sort with which William Shaksper was connected throughout his career in London), "except over the stage and boxes, were open to the sky. In private theaters, the performances commonly took place by the light of candles or cressets; in public theaters, by daylight. In both, the play began in the afternoon, often at 3 o'clock and ended at 5, or between 5 and 6. The spectators who occupied the 'pit or yard' were obliged in public theaters to stand; in private theaters they were seated. The price of admittance to various houses varied from one penny, or two pence, to two shillings or half a crown. In public theaters, young men of rank and fashion were accommodated with stools on each side of the rush-strewn stage, where their attendants waited upon them and supplied them with their pipes and tobacco. Ladies visiting the theaters sometimes wore masks. Movable scenery had not then been devised. . . . In front of the stage ran curtains, which could be drawn and withdrawn as was needed, and at the back of the stage, similar curtains occupied the place of our scenery, and could be used for exits and entrances of the actors. Toward the rear of the stage rose an upper stage, from which, when it seemed suitable, part of the dialogue could be spoken. . . .

This upper stage might be imagined the walls of a besieged city, as in *King John*; or a balcony, as in *Romeo and Juliet*; or as a stage within a stage, as in the first scene of *Hamlet*."

Fleay, 251, says: "The prologue of the play of Henry VIII shows that the extant play was performed as a new one at Blackfriars, for the price of entrance, one shilling, (line 12), and the address to 'the first and happiest hearers of the town', (line 24) are only applicable to the private house in Blackfriars;* the entrance to the Globe was two-pence, and the audience at this public house was of a much lower class."

Collier says, vol. I, 17: "With regard to mechanical facilities for the representation of plays before, and indeed long after the time of Shakespeare, it may be sufficient to state that our theaters were merely round wooden buildings, open to the sky in the audience part of the house, although the stage was covered by

* It is not to be supposed that the private theaters were numerous. In fact they consisted of just two:

1. "The Singing School of St. Pauls, opened early in 1600 or 1599. The Paul's boys ceased to act in 1607; but I think that the children of the King's Revels, who succeeded them, were the same company, under another name. . . . They acted from 1607 to 1609. Fleay, *Hist. Lond. Stage*, 163.

2. Blackfriars. "The freehold of the house which was transformed into this theater was purchased by James Burbage of Sir W. Moore, 4th May, 1596. . . . There is no trace of any performance there until Nov. 1598, when one of Jonson's plays was acted by 'the children of the Blackfriars'. It was leased in 1600 to one Evans, who first set up the Chapel Boys. In August, 1608, the Burbages and associates bought the remaining lease of Evans, the master of the Chapel, and near the end of 1609, placed men players in their room." *Id.*, I, c.

a hanging roof; the spectators stood on the ground in front, or at the sides, or were accommodated in boxes, or around the inner circumference of the edifice, or in galleries at a greater elevation. Our ancient stage was unfurnished with movable scenery; and tables, chairs, a few boards for a battlemented wall, or a rude structure for a tomb or an altar, seemed to have been nearly all the properties it possessed." "At this period of our stage history (1594), the performances usually began at three in the afternoon". Collier further says, I, 11: "The Globe was a round wooden building open to the sky, while the stage was protected from the weather by an overhanging roof or thatch. The number of persons it would contain, we have no means of ascertaining, but it certainly was of larger dimensions than the Rose theater, the Hope, or the Swan, three other edifices of the same kind, and used for the same purpose in the immediate vicinity. The Blackfriars was a private theater, as it was called, entirely covered in, and of smaller size." Fleay, Hist., says, p. 152: "Blackfriars was a private theater, built after 1596. The private theaters were in enclosed buildings, had pits with seats instead of open yards. The performances were by candle light and part of the audience sat on the stage smoking. *They* (these private theaters) *grew out of the performances of marriages, etc., of the gentry, and the Inns of Court Revels, just as the public theaters grew out of the inn-yard play-houses and the open air scaffolds in the market place.*" On page 10, Mr. Fleay goes back to the origin of play houses and playing companies: "At the accession of Elizabeth (1558), the stages, that is to

say, the inn-yards, occupied as play places, were used by the men players under the patronage of the principle noblemen and gentry connected with the Court. . . . Had it not been for the Queen's liking of the drama, and for the courtiers imitating of her taste shown by the adoption of dramatic entertainments at christenings, marriages, etc., it would have been long before the stage would have emerged from its earlier condition as a mere vehicle for the production of mysteries, miracles, and moral interludes. . . . The point which I endeavor to insist on as a necessary condition to the understanding of all subsequent stage history, is the absolute subordination of public performances to court representations." He says that the keeping up the play houses in inn-yards was in effect allowing of rehearsals to be performed to and at the cost of the people, so saving court expenses; and that out of the plays exhibited in public every year, some half dozen of the best were selected for representation before the Queen at Christmas and Shrovetide. These play-places were suppressed by the city authorities, and this led to the establishment of player companies directly under the Queen's patronage. "*Scarcely any advance was made in the literary quality of these plays or interludes between 1560 and 1587. Dumb-shows and Inductions** (an introductory scene, preface, prologue to a play. Webster) *became popular toward the close of the period*" ; that is, about the time

* The play of the "Taming of a Shrew" is prefaced by an "Induction", consisting of two short farcical scenes; the foolery with a drunken tinker was just the sort of thing to please a public theater audience.

that young Shaksper came to London. In 1576 or 1577, the first two theaters, (the Theater, and the Curtain) were built. Mr. Fleay gives a list of the Interludes and plays that were represented at Court up to 1587, and they are all of the simplest description. He says, "Up to 1592, the court performances, (from 1586) had been Interludes, plays by the Paul's boys, and Masks." An example of the last was "The Misfortunes of Arthur," by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn.

Collier makes Shaksper a player at the Blackfriars, and a part owner of that theater; but Fleay, in his Life, 55, says: "There is no proof that William Shakspeare ever acted at Blackfriars"—which is equivalent to saying that he never acted in a private theater. In the same book, he says also, (65) that the averment that Shakspeare was part owner of the Blackfriars rests on forged documents (64), that the King's men took possession of this theater for their own purposes in 1614, or 1615, "but there is not a trace of them until then in connection with this private theater, except the *ex parte* statement of C. Burbage, made for a special purpose, in a plea which is studiously ambiguous."

In the Hist. Lond. Stage, Mr. Fleay has somewhat modified this last statement. On page 153, he says: "In August, 1608, the Burbages bought the then remaining lease of Blackfriars, and near the end of 1609, (on p. 201, Dec. 1609), placed men players, Heminge, Condell, Shakspeare, &c., in their rooms." Again, on p. 190, he says: "They (the King's men) continued from 1610 to 1642 to use both the Globe

and the Blackfriars. The year 1610 was just at the end of Shaksper's theatrical career, for he sold his interest and retired to Stratford at that time, 1610-11." There is no testimony in Phillipps or Fleay that Shaksper ever played at Blackfriars, or any private theater. His Company played occasionally at Court, about Christmas time, at Whitehall, and at Greenwich; also rarely at Somerset House, at Pembroke House, at Grays Inn, being officially the Lord Chamberlain's players, or the King's players; but at these performances as elsewhere, there was no movable scenery used and the plays were greatly abbreviated. Mr. Fleay repeatedly alludes to this fact.

The covering being of thatch led to the destruction of the Globe theater, in 1613. In playing *All is True*, "certain chambers being shot off, some of the stuff wherewith some of them was stopped (wadding) did light on the thatch, and kindled inwardly . . . consuming the whole house to the ground".

Symonds, 287, says: "Performances began at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and averaged about two hours in duration. The piece of the day was generally closed with an address to the sovereign, recited by the actors on their knees. Then followed a kind of farce, technically called a jig, in which the clown performed the solo. Jigs were written in rhyme, plentifully interspersed with gag, and extempore action.* (Webster defines jig—obsolete—as a light, humorous piece of writing—a farce in verse). Entrance prices

* "Kemp's jigge was one of those diversions, of combined singing and dancing, of which several were written and performed by him and Tarleton," Ing. 28,

varied with the theater, the seat, and kind of exhibition. For the most ordinary shows three pennies were paid, one at the gate, another at the entry of the scaffold, and the third for quiet standing. In the larger theaters, there was a place called the two-penny room, which answers to our gallery. Private boxes were sold at a higher rate."

"The lowest frequenters of the public theaters contemptuously alluded to as 'groundlings', and 'stinkards', stood in the yard (pit) beneath the open sky. . . . Spectators of the more fashionable sort sat on three-legged stools upon the stage; they took their place by force in defiance of the hootings and hisses of the groundlings separated from them by the barriers of the stage. The custom was a great annoyance both to the actors and the audience; for the young gallants showed very little consideration for either. They exchanged remarks, and chaffed the players, peeled oranges, and threw apples into the yard, puffed tobacco from pipes lighted by their pages, and flirted with the women in the neighboring boxes."

["Chaffed the players." We have an amusing description of this pastime in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, where Theseus, Hippolyta, and the courtiers, sitting on the stage witnessing the play given by Bottom and his company "of unlettered rustics", are incessantly and unmercifully interrupting and ridiculing them. The Queen exclaims: "This is the silliest stuff e'er I heard." In comes the lion, who roars as gently as a sucking dove. "Well roared, lion, well run, Thisbe". Pyramus dies; "With the help of a surgeon he might yet recover, and prove an ass"; and so on,

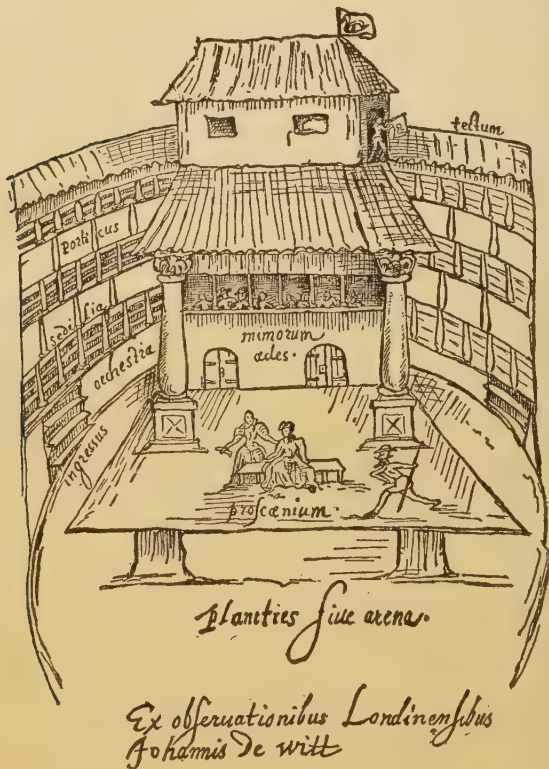
audibly, at every movement of the players. This practice of chaffing shows the contempt of the better class of spectators for both players and play, and we are told it was habitual, also that the private theaters were subjected to the same nuisance. Fleay, from his point of view that Shakespeare was Shaksper, and the author of *Hamlet*, considers the attack on Bottom and his "base mechanicals" as a satire against the Earl of Sussex's men (company) . . . all guess work; but from my point of view that Shakespeare was not Shaksper, and that the Shakespeare plays were not written for the public theater, or with any thought of their being played therein, it is likely that the scene spoken of was written in ridicule of all public theater players, and that of Shaksper's company as much as any.]

Mr. Symonds imagines a visit to the Fortune, 289: "It is three o'clock upon an afternoon of summer. We pass through the great door, ascend some steps, and let ourselves into our private room (box) upon the first or lower tier. We find ourselves in a low square building, open to the slanting sunlight, built of shabby wood, not unlike a circus; smelling of sawdust and the breath of people. The yard before is crowded with 'six-penny mechanics', and 'prentices' in greasy leathern jerkins, servants, boys and grooms, elbowing each other for bare standing room, and passing coarse jests on their neighbors. A similar crowd is in the two-penny room above our heads, except that here are a few flaunting girls. Not many women of respectability are visible, although two or three have taken a side box, from which they can lean forward to

exchange remarks with the gallants on the stage. . . . The first act begins. There is nothing but the rudest scenery. A battlemented city-wall behind the stage, with a placard hung out upon it indicating that the scene is Rome. As the play proceeds, the figure of a town makes way for some wooden rocks and a couple of trees, to signify the Hyrcanian forest. A damsel with a close-shaven chin wanders alone in the wood, lamenting her sad case. Suddenly a card-board dragon is thrust from the sides upon the stage, and she takes flight. The first act closes with a speech from an old gentleman arrayed in antique robes. He is the Chorus, and it is his business to explain what has happened to the damsel, and how in the next act, her son, a sprightly youth of eighteen, will conquer the dragon. During the course of the play, music is made for the recreation of the audience, with songs and ditties. The show concludes with a prayer for the Queen's Majesty, uttered by the actors on their knees."

Again: "It is difficult for us to realize the simplicity with which the stage was mounted in the London theaters. Scenery may be said to have been wholly absent." P. 297. "Actresses were never seen upon the stage. Beardless youths 'boyed' the greatness of Cleopatra and Lady Macbeth, hobbledehoys 'squeaked' out the pathos of Desdemona and Juliet's passion". P. 60. "How could such characters (the female characters of the plays of Fletcher, Marston, Dekker and others)—not to speak of Imogen or Cleopatra, Constance or Katharine—have been represented on the English stage? Here, indeed, is a mystery. How could Shakespeare have committed Desdemona to a

boy?" The simple answer is, Shakespeare did not do it.



Dowden says, 50: "A rude sketch of the interior of the Swan Theater, London, as it was about the year

1596, was not long since brought to light in the University Library, Utrecht. It is from the hand of a learned Dutchman, Johannes De Witt, who visited England toward the close of the reign of Elizabeth. No other drawing of the interior of an Elizabethan theater is known to exist."

"The stage, strongly supported on timber bulks, is occupied by three actors, and has for all its furniture a bench. Neither curtains nor traverses appear. At the back of the stage, which is open to the weather, is the tiring room, and above this rises a covered balcony, occupied by spectators, but available at need for the actors. The trumpeter is seen at the door of a covered chamber near the gallery roof." Id. 50.

Chamber's Enc., "Theatre", says of this drawing: "The only existing contemporary drawing of the Elizabethan stage is here reproduced from Dr. Gaedertz' book on the 'Old English Stage'. It represents the Swan Theater in 1596. The drawing was made by one John De Witt, who visited London in 1596, and whose manuscript diary was discovered by Dr. Gaedertz in the Royal Library at Berlin. As a picture of the stage in the time of Shakespeare it is of infinite value."

The authors I have quoted assert that the stage was protected from the weather by a roof, but no one of them gives an authority for the fact. De Witt's picture shows that there was no such shelter at the Swan, and makes it probable that the other public theaters were constructed after the same fashion—and that the players, as well as the crowd in the pit, stood exposed to the weather. Fleay, Hist., 147, says of the

Theater: "Being a public theater with daylight performances, (it) was open to the sky in the centre"; 148: "The Curtain was a similar building to the Theater; and the Rose and Swan were similar to same". Therefore, the fact must be that all these theaters were as in De Witt's cut of the Swan, the stage as well as the pit open to the sky.* This cut enables us to understand Mr. Symonds' imaginary picture of the Fortune, before given. The lowest floor at the two sides of the stage is divided into rooms, or boxes, few in number; the second floor is the two-penny gallery, occupied by persons of the same order as those in the pit. Plainly, nine-tenths of the audience consisted of what Mr. Symonds says were contemptuously called groundlings or stinkards.

Neither the Theater, nor the Curtain, was used exclusively for dramatic entertainments. Both were frequently engaged for matches and exercises in the art of fencing . . . and not only fencers, but tumblers and such like sometimes exhibited at these theaters". H.-P., 273.

William Shaksper, as a player, first belonged to Lord Strange's Company; soon after the death of Lord Strange, Lord Hunsdon became its patron, and when the second Lord Hunsdon became the Chamberlain, 1593, it was called "the Chamberlain Company"; after 1603, and the accession of James, it became "The King's Company". In 1593, the Company opened in

* Drake, chapter VII, says of the Globe Theater: "It was constructed of wood, and only partly thatched, its centre being open to the weather."

the old "Theater". Fleay, (25) says that before the establishment of the Chamberlain's Company, Shaksper had often been obliged to travel, and to act about town in inn-yards. According to Halliwell-Phillips, I, 109, "Shakespeare's" first plays up to 1594, were all written for Henslowe, and were acted under the sanction of that manager, by the various companies performing from 1592 to 1594 at the "Rose Theater and Newington-Butts". Fleay states positively that player Shaksper had no connection with the Rose. The Rose was not opened until 1592, and remained empty much of the ensuing twelve months. Mr. Fleay says (22): "The Chamberlain's players, however, did not act there, but under Shakespeare (Shaksper) and Burbage, re-opened the old Theater while Alleyn left them and acted with the Admirals at the Rose." In 1597, the old Theater having become ruinous, the Chamberlain's Company removed to the Curtain". Id. 31.

In January, 1599, Burbage, the leader of this company erected the Globe theater, and to this Shaksper belonged until he sold out and retired to Stratford in 1610-11. "There is no proof that Shaksper ever acted at Blackfriars;* there is strong presumption to

* On p. 233, Fleay, Hist., quotes the Athenaeum as follows: "It is now for the first time ascertained that the King's Company were performing at the Blackfriars Theater as early as 1608, and for the interesting fact that Shakespere was then one of their leading actors, we have the unquestioned authority of the Burbages in the well-known Lord Chamberlain's records of 1635." On this Fleay remarks in foot-note: "There is not a particle of evidence for this rash statement, which is in direct contradiction with the records of 1635 therein referred to."

the contrary as to his supposed shares in that theater; it was the private inheritance of the Burbages, and that the King's men had shares in it at this time rests on the evidence of forged documents and mischievously fertile imaginations." Fleay, *Life*, 65.

In 1601, "a strolling detachment" of the Chamberlain's Company (Shaksper being one of the strollers; Fleay, *Life*, 43) wandered through England, and even into Scotland. Much of the playing of Shaksper's associates and company was done in inn-yards in London and other towns, and at fairs and markets as they tramped. In London, there were three or four such yards commonly used for that purpose, one of which was at the Red Bull Inn. In the inn-yards, the performances were "upon a temporary platform or stage in the middle of the open court yard, to which the galleries all around the court formed boxes for the chief spectators, while the poorest part of the audience stood in the court on all sides of the central stage." Enc. Brit., XXIII, 224. It is easy to see that the performance of a Shakespeare play, as written, in an inn-yard, must have been an impossibility; a naked extemporized stage, open to the weather overhead, everything in full view of the audience, the pit completely surrounding the stage, and no scenery or privacy.

"To London fled all the adventurers, vagabonds and paupers of the realm. They gathered around the play-houses. Here the ruffians, thieves, vagabonds, the apprentices, the pimps and prostitutes assembled—a dirty, stormy, quarrelsome multitude." Donnelly.

"Beyond doubt," says Wendell, 41, "*the Elizabethan*

theater of 1587 was not a socially respectable place and Elizabethan theatrical people were very low company." That this was especially the case with the two public theaters, the "Theater" and the "Curtain", the following extracts from Phillipps will show: "The Theater appears to have been a very favorite place of amusement, especially with the more unruly section of the populace." I, 354. "It is clear from these testimonies that the 'Theater' attracted a large number of persons of questionable character to the locality." I, 358. In 1597, the Lord Mayor of London characterized the theaters of the suburbs (the Theater and Curtain) as ordinary places for vagrant persons, masterless men, thieves, horse-stealers, whoremongers, cozeners, cony-catchers (*i. e.*, sharpers), contrivers of treason, and other idle and dangerous persons to meet together." W., 57. "The crowds of disorderly people frequenting the Theater are thus alluded to", etc. H.-P., I, 355. Another allusion to the throngs of the lower orders attracted by the entertainments at the Theater occurs in a letter from the Lord Mayor to the Privy Council, 13th December, 1595: "Among other inconveniences it is not the least that the refuse sort of evil disposed and ungodly people about this city have opportunity hereby to assemble together and to make their matches for all their lewd and ungodly practices, being also the ordinary places for all masterless men and vagabond persons that haunt the highways to meet together." I, 355.

A letter from the Lord Mayor to the Council of April 12, 1580, says: "I have thought it my duty to inform your Lordship that the players of plays which are

used at the 'Theater' and other such places, and tumblers, and such like, are a very superfluous sort of men," etc. I, 355. On 193, Mr. Phillipps says that players were regarded in the last years of the sixteenth century in about the same light with jugglers and buffoons". "The puritanical writers of the time of Shakespeare were indignant at the erection of regular theatrical establishments, and the Theater and the Curtain were the special objects of their invective. They are continually named together as sinks of all wickedness and abomination," thus: "I am persuaded that Satan hath not a more speedy way and fitter school to work and teach his desires to bring men and women into his share of concupiscence and wicked whoredom than these places and plays and theaters". I, 365. "Rankins, in his *Mirroure for Monsters*, 1587, observes that the Theater and Curtain may aptly be termed for their abomination, 'the Chapel adulterinum' ". I, 370. "The independent testimony of the author of the *Newes from the North*, 1579, is to a similar effect: 'I have partly showed you what leave and liberty the common people, namely youth, hath to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonness and dissolution of life; for further proof whereof I call to witness the Theaters, Curtains' ", etc. H.-P., id.

"In the play-houses of London", observes Gosson, in his *Player Confuted*, "it is the fashion of youths to go first into the yard (the pit) and to carry their eye through every gallery; then, like unto ravens, where they spy the carrion thither they fly. . . . he taketh himself for a jolly fellow, that is noted of

most to be busiest with women in all such places". H.-P., id.

Symonds says: "The theaters of London were the resort of profligate and noisy persons." On p. 277: "Three theaters at least were then (1576) established in the purlieus of the city. The first of these was styled 'The Theater'; the second was called the Curtain. Both were in Shoreditch, and both soon obtained a bad reputation for brawling, low company, and disreputable entertainments."

On p. 306: "In the origin of the stage, theaters were closely connected with houses of public entertainment, inns, hostelries, places of debauch and brothels. . . . They formed a nucleus for what was vile, adventurous, and hazardous, in the floating population. . . . The actual habits of an audience in a London theater may be imagined from more or less graphic accounts given by contemporary satirists as thus: 'In our assemblies at plays in London, you shall see such heaving and shoving, such itching and shouldering to sit by women . . . such playing at foot-saunt without cards; such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sports are ended,' " etc., etc.

Mr. Symonds, 307, quotes Stubbes in his *Anatomy of Abuses*: "But mark the flocking and running to Theaters and Curtains, daily and hourly, night and day, time and tide, to see Plays and Interludes, where such wanton gestures, such bawdy speeches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and bussing, such clipping and culling, such winking and glancing of wanton eyes and the like is used as is wonderful to

behold. Then, these goodly pageants being ended, every male sorts out his mate," etc., etc. "Many players, if reports are true, are common panders." On p. 309: "Women of loose life frequented them." "In the Actor's Remonstrance, 1643, this abuse of the player's vocation is ingenuously admitted: 'We have left off for our part . . . *that ancient custom which formerly* rendered men of our quality infamous*: namely, the inveigling of young gentlemen, merchants, factors and apprentices to spend their master's estates upon us and our harlots in taverns.' " "No woman might attend a play house unless masked." Enc. Brit., "Drama". "Girls of good character scarce dared to enter a play house. From ballads of the period we learn what was the peril to their reputations." Symonds. On p. 315, the same writer says: "In slums and suburbs, purlieus and base quarters of the town stood these wooden sheds which have echoed to the verses of the greatest poet of the modern world." I deny that fact. The Shaksper commentators all assume that the Shakespeare plays were acted in these sheds, but history is silent on the matter, and the possibilities are the other way.

I have summoned these witnesses to show what sort of places the public theaters were to which William Shaksper belonged during the whole of his life in London (for the Globe was just such a public theater as the Curtain); and the kind of people he has been supposed

* "Formerly." It is highly probable that this custom prevailed while Shaksper was connected with the public theaters. Jonson, in his *Poetaster*, to be quoted presently, intimates as much,

to have written the plays for; and a pretty showing it is! I doubt if in all London to-day, there is a place of public entertainment more debased than were the public theaters in the time of Elizabeth; the pit crowded with rowdies, ruffians and "stinkards"; the boxes and galleries occupied by prostitutes and their paramours, (a decent girl could not set foot in the theater without peril to her reputation). What sort of men therefore must the players have been, who, year in and year out, purveyed to such audiences? "Tell me the company you keep, and I will tell you what you are", is a proverb in one form or other in every civilized language on earth. Evidently these players were vile, debauched, such as no reputable man would ask to his house, or be known to have acquaintance with.

It could not have been possible that any man of cultivation between 1588 and 1610 would go to that place of abomination—the public theater—to hear a play of any sort by Burbage, and Shaksper, and Heminge, and Condell.* As to the Shakespeare plays,

* The writer of a paper in the *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1898, in the character of a Dutch traveler in London, 1599, inditing a letter to a countryman, imagines a First Performance of a Shakespeare play, to-wit, Henry V, at the Curtain Theater. He describes his visit to that place of entertainment—says that it is a disreputable place, and that the rabble fill the pit. "An empty box near the stage presently was entered by three masked ladies attended; whose elaborate head gear and extensive ruffs betray high degree. One of them *wore at her girdle a gorgeous pendant of diamonds*. At a compliment" (in the chorus to fifth act) "to the 'gracious Empress', the chief of the masked ladies attracted notice; her mask suddenly dropped and revealed a damsel of sixty-six, Elizabeth of England". A precious place,

so great an authority as Dr. Ingleby declares that we are but even now "slowly rounding to a just estimate of Shakespeare's works". It is not to be believed that in the period spoken of these works were appreciated or understood, or that they were ever performed at length, or except in a very much abbreviated form, at a public theater.

"During the absence of the strolling detachment (Shaksper being one of the strollers) Jonson's Poetaster was produced, containing a vigorous attack on the Globe Company." Fleay, 43. From this I give the following:

"What's he that stalks by thee, boy?"

"'Tis a player, sir."

"A player! Call the lousy rascal hither. Do you hear, you player, rogue, stalker, come back here. You are proud, you rascal, are you proud, ha? You grow rich, do you, and purchase, you two-penny tear-mouth. Come, we must have you turn fiddler again, slave, get a bass viol at your back, and march in a tawny coat with one sleeve to Goosefair! Dost thou not know that Pantalabus (Marston the playwright) there; he is a gentleman you slave. Rascal, to him, cherish his muse, go! He shall write for thee, slave! If he pen for thee once, thou shalt not need to travel with thy pumps full of gravel any more, after a blind jade and a hamper, and stalk upon boards and barrel heads to an old cracked trumpet."

"And what new matters have you now afoot, sirrah?"

truly, for a Queen to be caught in, even in the imagination of a romancer.

"We have as much ribaldry in our plays as can be, as you would wish, captain; all the sinners in the suburbs come and applaud our action daily."

"Well, go thy ways; my Poetaster shall make thee a play, and thou shalt be a man of good parts in it. . . .

"Let's have good cheer to-morrow night at supper, stalker, and then we'll talk. And do not bring your eating player with you there; I cannot away with him; he will eat a leg of mutton while I am in my porridge, the lean Poluphagus; nor the villainous out-of-tune fiddler, Ænobarbus, bring not him. Do not bring your Æsop, your politician; the slave smells ranker than some sixteen dunghills. Marry, you may bring Frisker, my zany; he's a good skipping swaggerer; and your fat fool there, my mango, bring him too; but let him not roar out his barren bold jests with a tormenting laughter, between drunk and dry.

"I have stood up and defended you, I, to gentlemen, when you have been said to prey upon puisnes (youths) and honest citizens; or when they have called you usurers or brokers, or said you were able to help to a piece of flesh, I have sworn I did not think so, nor that you were the common retreats for punks decayed in their practice, I cannot believe it of you". (Intimates that they were reported to be panders, and auxiliary to the brothels).

A pretty vigorous attack truly! What manner of men, in their walk and conversation, must these Globe players have been, that Jonson should, in a published play, so represent them, or that he could do it with impunity. Which of these players satirized was

William Shaksper, I cannot say. It may have been "Frisker, my zany", or "my mango", but the words "usurers and brokers" seem sufficiently to specialize the man. Malone said of this attack: "Shakspere has marked his disregard of the calumniator of his fame by not leaving him any memorial in his Will;" by which it appears that Malone understood Shaksper to be one of the persons attacked. As I have quoted from Fleay elsewhere: "All record of any real friendship between them (Jonson and Shaksper) ended in 1603."

I have described at some length the public theaters of the Shakespearean age, because, by the way the stage and the players are usually spoken of, one would think that an impression prevails that these play houses were something not much inferior to the best metropolitan theaters of to-day; and that the players were in their several ways, on a par with Garrick, or Kemble, Burton, or Jefferson, or Irving. The theaters were sheds, with accompaniments inexpressibly filthy; the audiences were, as Hamlet tells us, "groundlings, who for the most part, are capable of nothing but dumb-shows and noise"; the players were low-lived blackguards, ran-away apprentices, bankrupt tradesmen and mechanics. Of this Globe Company, Burbage had been a carpenter; Heminge a grocer; and Shaksper a butcher. In the same connection Hamlet says: "O there be players that I have seen play . . . that have neither the accent of Christians, Pagan, nor man, have strutted so and bellowed"—words which applied to every member of the Globe Company, but especially to Burbage, who was renowned for the

strength of his lungs. Drake, ch. VII, expressly says of this Company, that "the exhibitions were . . . chiefly calculated for the lower class of people"; and that the upper ranks and the critics generally preferred the private theaters, which were smaller and more conveniently fitted up." The "lower class of people" in London is, and always was, very low down indeed.

This is the point I make and insist on, that the "upper ranks", and cultivated people, did not go to the public theater, and were never attracted thither by Shakespeare plays. In the Prologue to *Henry VIII*, which Fleay says was evidently written for the audience at Blackfriars, a private theater—a shilling audience instead of a two-penny one—the speaker undertakes that the spectators will get their shilling's worth in the two hours:

"Only they
That come to hear a merry, bawdy play,
A noise of targets, and to see a fellow
In a long motley coat, guarded with yellow,
Will be deceived; for, gentle hearers, know
To rank our chosen truth with such a show
As fool and fight is, besides forfeiting
Our own brains and the opinion that we bring,
Will leave us never an understanding friend."

That is tolerably plain! And it is aimed at the audiences of the public theaters. "If we were to present you such plays as you may see at the Globe, besides forfeiting our own self-respect, we should lose the friendship of every cultivated and decent man in this town". "A merry, bawdy play". If one wishes to see that sort of play, read Jonson's *Bartholomew*

Fair, full of local allusions, satire, and personalities, horse-play, vulgarity, obscenity, and profanity. It would be impossible to perform this play, as written, before even the lowest audiences of to-day, but we are told that it was popular when it appeared, time of James I (1611). Doubtless, so much of it as was played at the Globe, pleased every class of frequenters, from the gallants on the stage to the groundlings in the pit, and the prostitutes in the galleries.

Henslowe, in all the years during which Shaksper was in London, ran one or more theaters, especially the Rose and the Fortune, and he kept a diary which has been preserved, showing what plays were performed at his theaters, what he paid his players, and what he paid authors for plays, and what properties he furnished to the stage, etc., etc. The presumption is that Henslowe was a typical manager. Fleay says of him, 117, Hist.: "Henslowe was an illiterate moneyed man, by trade a dyer", (all these managers and players seem to have been originally mechanics or workmen) "in practice a pawnbroker. . . . He managed to keep his actors in subservience and his poets in constant need by one simple method, viz.: by lending them money and never allowing their debts to be fully paid off". This sounds very much like Ratsie's remarks on Shaksper; also the remarks from Crosse, 1603, quoted by Phillipps and hereafter given, believed by Phillipps to have been intended for Shaksper; as to "these copper-laced gentlemen (who) grow rich, purchase lands by adulterous plays, and not a few of them usurers and extortioners", etc. So I think we may accept the description of Henslowe as

typical of the managers of that day; and surely the criticisms of Hamlet upon the players and the audiences of 1601 apply to the companies to which William Shaksper belonged, and to every theater with which he had any connection.

There is no existing evidence that what we know as the Shakespeare plays were ever acted in any shape at a private London theater during the career of William Shaksper. There is not merely a lack of evidence that they *were ever acted at length at a public theater*, but there is the strongest probability *that they were never acted at all in such a theater*, save in a greatly abbreviated and altered form, interpolated with the gag of the day, or in dumb-show, burlesque and travesty.

"At this public theater, to which every one could obtain access, and the lowest of the people resorted, the ordinary performances doubtless were of the coarsest description. Yet we are called upon to believe that it was here that the wonderful works which we all so greatly admire, and feel that we can only properly appreciate by careful private study, were performed. Commentators say, 'We do not find that the plays attributed to Shakespeare were ever performed at any other theater'. They do not say, as they might: 'We do not find that they were ever performed at this'". Smith, 77.

Morgan says, 261: "From what knowledge we possess of the tone and quality of the audiences of those days, it is not difficult to imagine the rudeness and crudity of the plays actually performed. Before such an audience we are asked to believe that Hamlet and Wolsey delivered their soliloquies, Antony

his impassioned oratory, and Isabella her pious strains; whilst the clown and the pot-wrestlers discoursed among themselves of Athens and Troy; and Hecuba and Althea; of Galen and Paracelsus; of 'writ of detainer'; and 'fine and recovery'".

In Jonson's Bartholomew Fair, we get an inkling of the way in which a classical story was brought to the comprehension of the English public. The puppet-player Leatherhead and his man Littlewit who, the manager says, is his Burbage (evidently ridiculing the King's company) are showing their mystery to Cokes, "an Esquire of Harrow", the play being The Ancient Modern History of Hero and Leander.

Cokes. "But you do not play it according to the printed book? I have read that".

Leath. "By no means, sir."

Cokes. "No. How then?"

Leath. "A better way, sir; *that is too learned and poetical for our audiences; what do they know what Hellespont is? Or what Abdyos is? or the other, Sestos high?*"

Cokes. "Thou art in the right; I do not know myself."

Leath. "No. I have entreated Master Littlewit to take a little pains to reduce it to a more familiar strain for our people."

Cokes. "How, I pray thee, good Master Littlewit?"

Litt. "I have only made it a little easy, and modern for the times, that is all. As for the Hellespont, I imagine our Thames here; and the Leander I make a dyer's son about puddle-wharf; and Hero a wench o' the Bank-side, who going over one morning to old Fish street, Leander spies her land at Trig-stairs, and falls in love with her."

.

The audience at one penny and two-pence per head, are gathered in and the play begins:

Leath. "Gentles, that no longer your expectations may wander,
Behold our chief actor, amorous Leander,
With a great deal of cloth, lapp'd about him like a scarf,
For he yet serves his father, a dyer at Puddle-wharf;
Which place we'll make bold with, to call it our Abdyos,
As the Bank-side is our Sestos; and let it not be denied us,
Now as he is beating to make the dye take the fuller,
Who chances to come by but fair Hero in a sculler;
And seeing Leander's naked leg and goodly calf
Casts at him from a boat a sheep's eye and a half.
Now she is landed, and the sculler come back
By and by you shall see what Leander doth lack."

Leath. "Leander does ask, sir, what fairest of fairs,
Was the fare he landed but now at Trig-stairs."
"It is Hero of the Bank-side", . . .
"Leander says no more, but as fast as he can
Gets all his best clothes on, and will after to the Swan."

Hero. "O Leander, Leander, my dear, dear Leander,
I'll forever be thy goose, so thou'lt be my gander."

Lean. "And sweetest of geese, before I go to bed
I'll swim over the Thames . . .
. . . my goose, my dear friend
Let thy window be provided of a candle end."

Hero. Fear not, my gander, I protest I should handle
My matters very ill, if I had not a whole candle."

This is the way scenes from classically founded plays would be travestied at the Globe and Curtain, and we can see that the fun would suit the audience.

The literary critic of the New York Tribune, of 30th of July, 1897, in some remarks upon C. D. Warner's "The People for whom Shakespeare wrote", says: "Mr. Warner disappoints us by landing his reader at a station far short of complete knowledge. He has nothing to say about the psychology of Eliza-

bethan audiences, and that, after all, we want most to hear about. How far did contemporary sympathy for Shakespeare's Plays go? . . . These historians (Mr. Warner's predecessors) paint the audience vividly enough, but they make no attempt to divine its point of view, or to get at its spiritual side. No one thinks of discussing the probable effect upon such an audience of the purely poetic felicities in Shakespeare," etc. The quotation I have given above from Jonson, shows clearly the point of view of the spectators, and is as applicable to the unlettered audiences at the public theaters, as to the similar audiences at Bartholomew Fair. Leatherhead explains that the story of Leander and Hero "is too learned for our audiences". "What do they know what Hellespont is, or Abdyos, or Sestos! and Cokes, the country squire, says, 'Thou art in the right; I do not know myself.'" So Littlewit, the Burbage of this play, is instructed to "make it a little easy", which, as we have seen, he does.

That is the way, in travesty or burlesque, and the only way, that scenes from classically founded plays could have been brought to the comprehension of the public theater audiences, and the exposition must have delighted the groundlings. Leander and Hero, or Troilus and Cressida, in this easy and modern style, was comprehensible and worth the penny for standing room.

From the nature of the public theater, an open shed, exposed to all sorts of weather, rain, sleet, snow, fog—black fog, yellow fog—thick enough to be cut with a knife, the performances limited to the last hours of a

short afternoon (in London, in the winter months, the gas is lighted by half past three and four o'clock—throughout the month of December the sun sets before four o'clock—and many a day is so dark, and days together, that in all shops the burners are lighted), nothing more than a few special scenes of a Shakespeare play could have been presented, had there been the will to present them. The audience must have a farce, a song and dance—in other words, one of Kempe's "jigges". If they did not get this, they would have pelted the players, or hooted them off the stage. Fleay says, p. 2, that, in 1586, when William Shaksper joined the players, "they probably acted mere interludes, not regular five-act plays." He also tells us that up to 1587, dumb shows had become particularly popular, and that the Court performances up to 1592 consisted of interludes and masks.

What one of these theater audiences was accustomed to, that it would have, and the probability is that during the whole of William Shaksper's career as player or manager, mere interludes or special scenes only of plays were presented—and that largely in pantomime. "Shakespeare" makes Hamlet declare, in 1603, that the groundlings, by which we are to understand the bulk of the audience at one of these theaters, *had a capacity for nothing but dumb-shows and noise*. The dumb-show, the principal performance, being ended, there followed the "jigs" Symonds tells us of, and the two hours entertainment came to an end. There is not a line of testimony opposed to the view that one of the principal attractions to the public theater was the dumb-show.

The play of Titus Andronicus, put on the stage in 1594, and exceedingly popular, we are told, could only have been played in pantomime, and so Knight intimates. In a presentation at Court, or at Grays Inn, the audience sheltered and the room lighted, doubtless a Shakespeare play might have been given in a somewhat more extended form. No evidence has come to this age that a Shakespeare play was ever performed at one of the private city theaters. Hamlet occupies 109 pages in Knight's volumes, enough to fill six hours at a New York theater; Troilus and Cressida 97 pages; and Lear would fill five hours.

Hamlet ridicules the style of playing in vogue thus:

"Come, give us a taste of your quality, come, a passionate speech."

I Play. "What speech, my lord?"

Ham. "I heard thee speak a speech once,—but it was never acted; or if it was, not above once; *for the play*, I remember, *pleased not the million, 't was caviare to the general*, but it was an excellent play, well digested in the scenes; set down with as much modesty as cunning. . . . One speech in it I chiefly loved; 't was Æneas' tale to Dido. . . . If it live in your memory begin at this line, 'The rugged Pyrrhus':

'The rugged Pyrrhus—he, whose sable arms,
Black as his purpose, did the night resemble
While he lay couched in the ominous horse,
Hath now this dread and black complexion smeared
With heraldry more dismal; head to foot
Now is he total gules; horribly tricked
With blood of fathers, mothers, daughters, sons,
Bak'd and impasted with the parching streets,
That lend a tyrannous and damned light
To their lord's murder; roasted in wrath and fire.
And thus o'er-sized with coagulate gore,

With eyes like carbuncles, the hellish Pyrrhus
 Old grandsire Priam seeks.' So, proceed you."

I *Play*. "But who, O who, had seen the mobled queen
 Run barefoot up and down, threat'ning the flames
 With bisson rheum, a clout upon that head
 Where late the diadem stood;

When she saw Pyrrhus make malicious sport
 In mincing with his sword her husband's limbs,
 The instant burst of clamor that she made
 Would have made milch the burning eyes of
 heaven
 And passion in the gods."

Pleay says, 228, that the play from which these lines are borrowed belonged to the Chapel children, but it is not impossible that the gifted Burbage had roared off this stuff at the Curtain or the Globe.

When we read of Richard III being played at these public theaters, we may understand that a dozen heads were lopped, two boys were smothered, concluding with a desperate battle, represented by four swords and bucklers, at least three dead men left on the field. This gave Burbage, before he became one of the dead men, the opportunity to utter his historic yell for a horse. When we read of Henry IV being played, it means that fat Jack made the pit merry, and that Dame Quickly and Doll Tearsheet were among sympathizing friends. ("Doll Tearsheet was long in the public mind." Ingleby, note to p. 90.) They got off all the obscene dialogue that is not spoken now-a-days, and extemporized ten-fold more than was found in the text. Mr. Phillipps expressly tells us, I, 117, that *Shaksper's sole aim was to please an audience most of*

whom, be it remembered, were not only illiterate, but unable to either read or write."

Further, when we are told that Hamlet or Romeo, or Lear, or Richard III, were played at these same theaters, we have no assurance that they were the Shakespeare plays of those names, or scenes from them. Many of the Shakespeare plays were based on earlier ones, or sketches of similar name. Fleay, in a dozen instances, shows this. He speaks, page 13, of a version of Romeo and Juliet, anterior to Shakespeare;* on page 16, of the re-fashioning of an old play of Henry VI; on page 23, of "the old Hamlet and the Taming of the Shrew"; on page 42, of "the old Hamlet of Kyd"; of playing, in 1601, All's well that Ends Well, "a considerable portion of which is of much earlier date"; of a version of Troilus and Cressida; page 53, of the tragedy of King Lear being founded on an old comedy of that name. On page 149, we read that the second Quarto of Hamlet was published 1604, "newly reprinted and enlarged at almost as much again as it was".†

In February, 1600, Sir Charles Percy and others spoke to the players to have the play of the deposing and killing of King Richard II to be played, etc. Augustine Phillipps, Ingleby, 36. In the note Ingleby

* Craik speaks of a drama founded on the story of Romeo and Juliet, as far back as 1562.

† An allusion by Nash, printed in 1589, as a reprint of 1587, (when William Shaksper was but 23 years old, and had been out of Stratford but one or two years, or else had just come from Stratford, according to Fleay), shows that Hamlet was already familiar with the stage.

says: "That there is room for doubt whether the play ordered was Shakespeare's Richard II, or another on the same subject, is seen by Professor Dowden's comment 'that this was Shakespeare's play is very unlikely.' "

Gifford tells us that Malone says: "There were two preceding dramas (*i. e.* to Henry VI) one of which was called the Contention of York and Lancaster. Why then, might not this be the drama meant (by Jonson's skit)? But were there not two score old plays on this subject on the stage? Undoubtedly there were." Whence it appears that in many cases there were both ancient and recent plays bearing the same name, or treating of the same subject; and that there were various versions of a given play, abridged or altered for one purpose or other. Collier, XI, says: "Henslowe's Diary shows that the Lord Chamberlain's and the Lord Admiral's servants had joint possession of the Newington theater from 3rd June, 1594, to the 15th Nov., 1595; and during that period, various pieces were performed, which in their titles resembled plays which unquestionably came from Shakespeare's pen. That none of them were produced by our great dramatist, it is of course impossible to affirm; but the strong probability seems to be, that they were older dramas, of which he subsequently more or less availed himself. Among these was a 'Hamlet', acted on 11th June, 1594; a 'Taming of a Shrew', acted on 11th June, 1594; an 'Andronicus', acted on 12 June, 1594; a 'Venetian Comedy', acted on 12th Aug., 1594; a 'Caesar and Pompey', acted 22nd June, 1596. Also, I, VI: "In both the latter cases (Pericles and Troilus

and Cressida), it would likewise seem that there were plays by older or rival dramatists upon the same incidents." It is noticeable that in no instance is it said that a play "by William Shakespeare" was performed, or a "Shakespeare" play. The mere title of the play is given, as Richard III, Hamlet, etc., and that they were in all cases, or in any case where there were two or more plays bearing the same name, the plays we receive as Shakespeare's, no man at this day can possibly know. The whole matter was left as mysterious as possible. Hepworth Dixon, in his *Personal Memoirs of Lord Bacon*, speaking of the incident connected with the conspiracy of Essex which I have above recited, says: "Lord Monteagle tells him (Augustine Phillipps) that they want to have played Shakespeare's deposition of Richard Second." The naming of this play as Shakespeare's is Mr. Dixon's, for Phillipps, in his deposition, did not mention the word Shakespeare. He said that they wanted "to have the play of the deposing", etc. See Ingleby, 36.

Fleay, *Hist.*, on pp. 121-125, gives a complete list of the Court Performances from 1594 to 1603. Nowhere is it said that a "Shakespeare" play, or a play by "Shakespeare" was given. On pp. 169-178, he continues the list to 1614. He copies and includes in this a forged list, which he expressly so designates (170), "but undoubtedly based on a genuine document which was used by Malone, of the plays at Court, and published in the *Revels Accounts for the Shakespeare Society*, by Mr. P. Cunningham". This was for the season 1604-5. Several plays with names similar to those of Shakespeare plays are named, and Mr. Fleay,

without apparent authority, puts in brackets "by Shakespeare". Thus: "1604, Nov. 1—Kings Men,—The Moor of Venice (by Shakespeare)". The forged list, *verbatim et literatim*, is given in Phillipps, II, 162, and the entry corresponding to the one just quoted from Fleay reads: "Hallamas Day being the first of November A Play in the Banketing House att Whit-hall called the Moor of Venice;" and there is no name of the author attached to it.

Another entry is this: "On Stivens Night in the Hall A Play called Mesur for Mesur." Another: "On Shrovsunday a Play of the Merchant of Venice". In the margin against the last two of these plays is the name "Shaxberd." On p. 161, Phillipps expressly says that this record is "a modern forgery".

Now the object of this forgery was to make it appear that Shakespeare's Othello, first published in quarto, in 1622, had been played years before, or in 1604; and Measure for Measure, first published in the Folio of 1623, had been played in 1604, and the forger attached the name Shaxberd to the latter—one of player Shakspers many designations—as the author. Fleay translates Shaxberd into Shakespeare, quite another individual.

It is amusing to see how the Shakespeare editors forthwith took the benefit of these forgeries. Knight, in his edition of the Shakespeare Plays, New York reprint, 1868, prefaces Measure for Measure thus: "This comedy was first printed in the folio collection of 1623. It has been recently ascertained that Measure for Measure was presented at Court by the King's

Players (the company to which Shaksper belonged). in 1604."

[So few and so unimportant have been the testimonies as to William Shaksper's theatrical career, so lacking evidences of any connection between the man and the Shakespeare plays, that there seems to have been a constant temptation among his biographers, or the commentators on his supposed plays, to manufacture testimony and evidence. Hence all sorts of forgeries. A singular instance is mentioned by Dowden, 104: "In January, 1852, an eminent member of the (Shakespeare) Society of England, J. Paine Collier, announced that three years previously he had obtained from the bookseller Rodd a copy of the second Folio Shakespeare, containing many annotations in a hand about the middle of the 17th century. Collier supposed, or pretended to suppose, that the numerous corrections of the text, stage directions, etc., were the work of an early owner of the volume, who through his connection with the theater and attendance at performances of the plays, had sources of trustworthy information as to the genuine text. When, in 1859, this Folio was submitted to the scrutiny of experts, the manuscript notes were declared to have been modern forgeries. Pencil tracing was found to have guided the pen in its simulation of a 17th century handwriting. Competent authorities could not be deluded, and unfortunately evidence had accumulated to confirm the impression that this really learned and ingenious scholar, in not a few instances, had yielded to the temptation to win for himself by fraudulent documents

a spurious fame. It seemed to be the very wantonness of literary dishonesty.”]

Returning to Fleay, following his list, we reach the dates 1611-12, and half a dozen entries of plays performed by the King's men in these years are given. Among these there is no mention of a play as Shakespeare's. I give one example: “To J. Hemynge on 12 Feb'y, 1611, for 15 plays before the King, Queen, and Prince, by the King's men.”

This 1611-12 list is another of Cunningham's forgeries, and Mr. Fleay says, 173: “It is the most glaringly impudent of the many forgeries published by Cunningham and Collier,” etc. On p. 177, he speaks again of the forgeries of 1604-5, and now adds: “So that the entries of the Moor of Venice, The Spanish May, etc., are as yet very dubious.” Outside of the forged lists, from 1603 to 1614, I find no play given as Shakespeare's (merely the title) till we come to 1612-13. Here the Revels Account represent Heminge as paid for fourteen plays by the King's men, without names of the plays; but Fleay gives the names from some other manuscript source,—“Winter's Tale”, etc.; and adds in brackets, apparently without authority, “by Sh.” All this goes to establish the point I make that between 1594 and 1614, it is never said in the original authorities that a “Shakespeare” play is played, or one by Shakespeare; and consequently where there were two or more plays of similar title we never can be sure that a Shakespeare play was performed.

Israel Gollancz, in the Othello of the Temple Shakespeare, 1895, traces the story that this play was acted

in 1604 to Malone (1821), who said: "We know it was acted in 1604, and I have therefore placed it in that year." Gollancz goes on: "For twenty years scholars sought in vain to discover upon what evidence he *knew* this important fact, until at last, about the year 1840, Peter Cunningham announced his discovery of certain accounts of the Revels at Court, containing the following item, viz.: the Hallamas Day item, which I have given. Gollancz continues: "We know that this manuscript was a forgery, but strange to say there is every reason to believe that though the book itself is spurious, the information which it gives is genuine," etc. Surely this has an ancient and fish-like smell. It is plain that the Shaksperians were too much delighted with having found these entries of the early performing of certain plays to give them up, and they would accept any pretext for not doing so. Othello was first printed in 1622, and was entered on the Stationers' Register in 1621. There was a play styled "Venetian Comedy", mentioned in Henslow's Diary as performed 13 Aug., 1594. Also there was a play called the "Moor of Venice" which the Secretary of the German Embassy wrote he had seen in London, at the Globe, in 1610. Judge Holmes says on this, II, 716: "It is quite possible, not to say highly probable, that this was an older play by some other author, and not the Othello of Shakespeare." And again: "There is reason for the opinion that nothing was known of the Shakespeare Othello until it appeared in the Quarto of 1622." The motive for Cunningham's forgery is apparent. It was the way to eliminate all doubt as to the earlier play being Shakespeare's" (Shaksper's).

Whatever the play at a public theater was, it was necessarily short, (both Symonds and Drake tell us that the whole show, the play and subsequent farce, occupied about two hours) and boisterous, and suited to an illiterate, brutal audience. Symonds gives an imaginary visit to the Fortune in summer time, but as a rule, at that season of the year, the companies were strolling up and down the land. So we learn from Phillipps: "All the old theatrical companies were more or less of an itinerant character". Again: "The actors of those days were, as a rule, individual wanderers". Also: "There was not a single company of actors in Shakespeare's time, which did not make professional visits throughout nearly all the English counties." H.-P., II, 395.

[Fleay, Life, 41, says: "In March, 1601, the Chamberlains Company visited the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Their travels however were not confined to England. In October, they had reached Aberdeen."

Elizabeth died 24th March, 1603, and Phillipps suggests that the company to which Shaksper belonged might have been absent on a provincial tour. (Phillipps is trying to account for the fact that his "great dramatist" gave forth no lamentation on the death of the Queen). "They itinerated a good deal during the next few months (*i. e.*, after May, 1603), records of their performances being found at Bath, Coventry, Shrewsbury, and Ipswich." I, 211.

"The company are found playing at Oxford in the early part of the summer of 1604." Id. 214.

"On October 9th, 1605, Shakespeare's company,

having previously traveled as far as Barnstable, gave another performance before the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford." Id., 214.

"A considerable portion of 1606 was spent by the King's company in provincial travel. They were at Oxford in July, at Leicester in August. Before the winter had set in they had returned to London". Id., 219.

"Shakespeare's company were playing at Oxford on September 7th, 1607". Id., 219.

At the time that the Sonnets issued from the press (1609), the author's company was itinerating in Kent, playing at Hythe on the 16th of May, and at New Romney on the following day. They were also at Shrewsbury at some unrecorded period in the same year." Id., 227.

Plainly these companies were absent from London a larger part of the year. In the spring and summer and part of the autumn they strolled, and gathered to London before the Christmas holidays.]*

Leonard Digges, Ing. 231; in some doggerel verses prefixed to an edition of Shakespeare's poems, in 1640, alluding to the Shakespeare plays as he remembered them, says that the audience at the Globe (this must have been as a boy, for Digges was born in 1588, or he may be telling what he has heard from other people) were ravished:

. . . when Cesar would appeare,
And on the stage at halfe-sword parley were,
Brutus and Cassius . . .

* Lee says, 40: "Few companies remained in London during the summer or early Autumn".

. . . let but Falstaffe come,
 Hall, Poins, the rest you scarce shall have a roome.
 All is so pestered; let but Beatrice
 And Benedicke be seene, loe in a trice
 The Cockpit Galleries, Boxes, all are full
 To hear Malvolio,* that crosse garter'd Gull.

The audiences of that day did not go to the Curtain or the Globe that they might be worried with Wolsey's wailings, or wearied with Macbeth's soliloquies; they did not go to moralize and weep. They went for fun and frolic, ribaldry and horse-play. The more farcical the play, the more indecent, the more bloody and cruel, the better for Shaksper's hat. We are told by Phillipps, I, 100, that "the audiences of Elizabeth's day revelled in the very crudity of the horrible, so much so that nearly every kind of bodily torture and mutilation, or even more revolting incidents, formed part of the stock business of the theater; murders were in special request in all kinds of serious dramas."

Mr. Phillipps tells us that the play of Titus Andronicus was very popular, that it was produced before a large audience on Jan. 23, 1594, and that it was played at several theaters in the year it appeared. (How could that have been if William Shaksper wrote it for his theater, and owned the right to it?) Let us

* Digges apparently has mixed the Twelfth Night with Much Ado About Nothing, but I apprehend that scenes from the two had been combined for the interlude or pantomime offered to the clients of the Globe. Fifty years after the death of William Shaksper, Davenant brought out a play called "The Law against Lovers" made out of Measure for Measure and Much Ado About Nothing.

look at this play and see what pleased a public theater audience in Shaksper's day.

The first Act discovers the sons of the Roman general, Titus Andronicus, about to slay Alarbus, their prisoner, son of the Gothic Queen Tamora, whom, with the queen, the Romans have captured in war.

“Away with him, and make a fire straight;
And with our swords, upon a pile of wood,
Let's hew his limbs till they be clean consumed.”

Soon we are informed that

“Alarbus' limbs are lopped,
And entrails feed the sacrificial fire.”

Next, Titus, in a rage, kills one of his sons, Mutius. The sons of Tamora, whom the Roman king Saturninus marries, kill Bassianus, the king's brother, and throw his body into a hole or pit in the forest. Having enticed the beautiful Lavinia, the young wife of Bassianus, and daughter to Titus, into this forest, they ravish her and cut off both hands, cut out her tongue, and turn her loose, thinking she will be unable to denounce them. All this deviltry is done at the instigation of Tamora, who hounds the boys on, urging the killing Lavinia after the ravishment. The negro Aaron, a fiend incarnate, all the while the paramour of Tamora, entices two other sons of Titus into the same forest, and gets both to descend to the bottom of the pit in which Bassianus had been thrown, under the pretense that it was a panther's den. Then he informs the king that they are there, and that they murdered Bassianus; on which the sons are brought forth and

put in prison. Presently word comes from the king to Titus that if he will cut off one of his own hands and send it to the king, his sons will be freed. Titus does this, getting Aaron to chop off the member; and the next we see is a messenger bringing back the same hand, and the heads of the two boys on a platter. In the following Act, Lavinia takes the end of a staff in her mouth, and guiding it with her stumps, writes in the sand the names of her ravishers, and so informs her brothers.

Meantime Queen Tamora is delivered of a blackamoor child, and the nurse appears with the child in her arms, seeking the sons of the queen, with directions to them to kill it. This they are about to do, when Aaron appears and carries off the child as his own son and property. But before he departs, he and the sons kill the nurse as 'the sole witness' of the birth—Aaron mocking—"Weke, weke—so cries a pig prepared for the spit".

In Act V, Titus enters with a knife and Lavinia with a basin, and the former cuts the throats of the sons of Tamora, while Lavinia catches the blood. Out of the bodies and blood Titus cooks a meal which is set before Tamora, and of which she unwittingly eats. Thereupon Titus taunts her with the horror, and ends by killing her; and in return her husband Saturninus kills Titus, and one of Titus' sons kills Saturninus. (It reminds one of the piling up of "stiffs" outside the saloon doors in the old days of Nevada).

The play closes with Lucius, another son of Titus (he had a score) ordering Aaron to execution. "See justice

done to Aaron, the damn'd Moor," who probably was drawn and quartered forthwith, on the stage, A delightful play, doubtless every act encored, and played often (very popular we are assured) in several theaters. Of the persons represented not more than four or five come out alive, and one of these has been ravished and fearfully maimed. Titus Andronicus could only have been played in pantomime. Knight says that these theaters used blood as they would the paint of the property-man of the theater; and this was years after William Shaksper became one of the players.

Knight says of Romeo and Juliet: "There is enough for the excitement of an uninstructed audience; the contest between the houses; Mercutio killed; Tybalt killed; the apparent death of Juliet; Paris killed; Romeo swallowing poison; Juliet stabbing herself."

"In 1594, there was published "The Tragical Reign of Selim, Emperour of the Turks", a composition offering similar attractions (*i. e.*, murders), but the writer was so afraid of his massacres being considered too insipid, that he thus reveals his misgivings to the audience:

"If this First Part, gentles, do like you well
The Second Part shall greater murders tell" H-P.

"The 'old Jeronimo'—perhaps the most popular play of the early stage, thus concludes with a sort of chorus spoken by a ghost:—

"Ah now my hopes have end in their effects,
When blood and sorrows finish my desires,
Horatio murdered in his father's bower;
Vile Serberine by Pedringano slain;

Fair Isabella by herself misdone;
Prince Balthasar by Belimperia stabbed;
The Duke of Castile, and his wicked son,
Both done to death by old Hieronymo'".

"This slaughtering was accompanied with another peculiarity of the unformed drama—the dumb-show. Words were sometimes necessary for the exposition of the story . . . With a stage that presented attractions like these to the multitude, is it wonderful that the young Shakspeare should have written a Tragedy of Horrors?" (*i. e.*, the *Titus*). Knight, Shakspeare, I, 675.

Everywhere we find that the Shakespeare plays were shortened for performing, and nowhere do we find that one of these plays was performed at length. "They were shortened for Court representation", Fleay expressly tells us. In the *Life*, 20, he speaks of the strollers cutting down their plays. "It was more profitable to separate into parties of half a dozen, and of course, to cut down their plays". As for the theaters, on p. 263, we read that the Quarto 2nd Henry VI, "is greatly abbreviated for acting"; on 269. he says of same Quarto: "The corruption and omission caused by shortening for stage purposes has been so great", etc. On 275: "The 1597 Quarto of Richard 3rd is evidently an abridged version made for the stage, and no doubt was the version acted during nearly all of Elizabeth's reign." On 227: "Hamlet, Folio, is evidently a stage copy, considerably shortened for stage representation." Plainly, no play was given as "Shakespeare" wrote it, but there were versions,

more or less shortened, for the actors on tramp, for the theaters, even for the representation at court.

I once saw at a great historical English fair—in fact, Greenwich Fair, since suppressed—a perambulating company of players, performing under a tent—giving a tragedy after the pattern described by Sidney, a farce, a dance and song—all within the period of forty minutes. The audience was rung out, and the clown, with his trumpet, just as in De Witt's picture, notified the public that another performance of the same description was ready to begin. And so it was kept up all day. That is the way the strolling company must have managed in Shaksper's day.* To pay expenses, the play must necessarily have been short, and the performance repeated the day long. When in London, from the limited time at disposal, the performances could not have been given at much greater length.

It is a mistake caused by a misapprehension of the facts to say, as R. G. White does, and as John Fiske does, that William Shaksper wrote the Shakespeare plays "to fill the theater and his own pockets." Had the manager attempted a course of Shakespeare plays, he would have bankrupted the theater. According to White, the *raison d'être* for the writing of these plays was that they might be acted at William Shaksper's theater. If they were not—and they certainly were not, because in the nature of the case acting them

* Craik I, 598, speaking of Rowley, mentions the "fact recorded by Langbaine, that certain of the scenes of one of his pieces, A Shoemaker's a Gentleman, was commonly performed by the strolling actors at Bartholomew and Southward fairs."

there was impossible—then there was no reason why William Shaksper should worry himself by writing plays.

Mrs. Pott says: "These plays were intended for the most part, not for the play-house, but for performance before Elizabeth and James, or by the servants of, or at the houses of, the Earls of Leicester, Essex, Sussex and Pembroke. Many of them first saw the light in the Middle Temple, and in the new hall of Gray's Inn." Another authority tells us that "most of the plays first appeared on the occasion of some grand festivity, and many of them are not known to have been acted on the public stage or by Shakespeare's (Shaksper's) Company."

Fleay insists on the point of the absolute subordination of public performances to court presentations. The Chamberlain's Company, later the King's Company, might give a scene or a play in any manner they saw fit at their public theater; but at court they were expected to give the best—the most entertaining—performances of which they were capable, and we are expressly told that for these performances the plays were shortened. No doubt, the play of Hamlet performed at court was cut down four-fifths, the larger part of the dialogue, all the speeches, and all the philosophy being rejected; the action and enough of the text to explain it retained. It is to be supposed that some Shakespeare scenes must have been found entertaining at court, else they would not have been given; *but not a soul who ever witnessed a presentation has left a word concerning it.* I suspect the fun of the exhibition consisted in Alleyn's and Burbage's rant and fus-

tian, and in the Jim Crow antics of Rolfe's Kempe, and his pupil in comedy, William Shaksper. What were the rejected parts in the play of Hamlet for, if Shaksper was its author? Wendell says of another play, that even an Elizabethan audience could scarcely have stomached the prolonged philosophizing which fills pages of *Troilus and Cressida*. What was it there for, if Shaksper was the author? There was no money in it—quite the contrary—and the one object of this man's life was money. So R. G. White, and Phillipps, and all the commentators, ending with Wendell, tell us; so, also, John Fiske tells us. Why should a man intent on collecting pennies in hat at his own theater concern himself about other men's theaters, or the audiences at court, when all he wanted for the hat were the horrors of *Titus Andronicus*, or *Macbeth*, or the third *Henry VI*; or the murders of Richard and the fight of Bosworth Field? Why should he waste his valuable time in elaborating plays for managers of other theaters, or for the court? And, especially, why should he a second time take these plays in hand, revise and amend, and further extend them by one-fourth to fully twice their length, merely to please a reading public that would, as to most of the plays, not see them till years after he was in his grave, and without his estate or his family being benefited to the extent of one copper!

Swinburne, "Shakespeare", speaks of "the patience and self-respect which induced Shakespeare to re-write the triumphantly popular parts of *Romeo*, of *Falstaff*, and of *Hamlet*, with an eye to the literary perfection and performance of work, which in its first outline had

won the crowning suffrage of immediate and speculative applause." Is Mr. Swinburne quizzing the man of Stratford?

The theory that this revising and elaborate amending (with "consummate skill," etc.,) was done by the man who wrote the plays, if Shaksper, does not run on all fours with the other and usual theory that this man had tossed them off as pot-boilers, without study or preparation, and cared nothing for them thereafter.

Fleay, 227, says: "Hamlet is extant in three forms, the Folio, which is evidently a stage copy considerably shortened for stage purposes; the 1604 Quarto, which is a very fair transcript of the author's complete copy with a few omissions; and the 1603 Quarto, imperfect and inaccurate." On 230: "This form of Hamlet (the 1603 Quarto) seems to have been an unfinished re-fashioning of the old play by Kyd, that had so long been performed by the Chamberlain's men"; *i. e.*, up to 1601, at least, the date at which Mr. Fleay supposes the 1603 Quarto to have been prepared. On 233: "We have, in the forms of this play, an example of Shakespeare's hurried revision of the works of an earlier writer; of the full working out of his own conception in the shape fittest for private reading (the 1604 Quarto), and, finally, of his practical adaptation of it to the requirements of the stage." (The Folio.) This substantiates the view which I have taken that the Shakespeare plays were written for private reading, and not for the public theaters. To fill the theater, which White and Fiske say was William Shaksper's great object in life (adding, however, "and his own pockets"), it seems that the "imperfect and inaccurate" Quarto of 1603

was enough for many years, the abridgment of the 1604 Quarto, according to Fleay, not having been made before 1609, or 1610, just as Shaksper was retiring to Stratford.

All that William Shaksper wanted in order to fill the theater and his own pockets was a rapid and bloody interlude, and plenty of extemporaneous and ribald dialogue. Anything beyond that would be a violation of the rights of the groundlings, to be vigorously resented. There is no Shakespeare play in which the dialogue or monologue, in excess of what was essential for such an audience, was not in the proportion of twenty to one. Was William Shaksper, as the admiring Phillipps depicts him, the sort of man to labor over what was worthless and unendurable from the theater and pocket point of view, to be making future ages his first thought and his pocket the second; or carried away by the divine afflatus inspiration as Phillipps calls it, to forget pocket entirely? Not much! Dr. Ingleby thinks that "the drift of his plays must have been intelligible to the penny knaves who pestered the theaters, but his profound reach of thought and his unrivaled knowledge of human nature was as far beyond the vulgar ken as were the higher graces of his poetry. It is to men of sensibility that Shakespeare" (not Shaksper) "appeals as a man of genius; and it is to the literary class we must look for the impress of that genius". Preface, XII. And he adds: "We are at length slowly rounding to a just estimate of his works." If this language of Dr. Ingleby means anything, it is that the plays of Shakespeare were written for the literate class—not

the illiterate—and that it is but now, at the close of the nineteenth century, fully three hundred years after they were written, that the literate class is slowly rounding to a just estimate of them. (As we have before seen, Ingleby expressly says that for a full hundred years from 1592 these plays were not much thought of.) Very slowly indeed it would seem, when a lecturer in one of our foremost universities can teach his pupils that the writing of such plays as Shakespeare's is "within anybody's power;" and that to have created Shakespeare's works involved no more wonderful an imaginative feat than did the achievement of his material fortune by showman Shaksper. Dr. Rolfe, who claims to be an authority on these plays, affirms that the author of them "had little Latin, perhaps none", echoing the words of Ben Jonson on Stratford Shaksper; and here comes Dr. Fiske pulling tandem to the same team. "Little Latin, perhaps none" is another way of saying that the man who wrote the Shakespeare plays was an uneducated man.

If the plays have not yet come to be understood and appreciated by these learned and literate gentlemen, we may be sure that they were far above the best heads of the 16th century, and quite out of sight of the vulgar. Therefore we are safe in asserting that they were not written for the stinkards and prostitutes of William Shaksper's theaters, and to fill that man's pocket; and the inference is plain that quite another hand than Shaksper's wrote them.

Charles Lamb, "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare", says: "The truth is, the characters of Shakespeare are so much the objects of meditation rather than of inter-

est or curiosity as to their actions, that while we are reading any of his great original characters—Macbeth, Richard, even Iago—we think not so much of the crimes they commit, as of the ambition, the aspiring spirit, the intellectual activity, which prompt them to leap over these moral fences. So little do the actions comparatively affect us, that while the impulses, the inner mind in all its perverted greatness, solely seems real and is exclusively attended to, the crime is comparatively nothing. But when we see these things represented, the acts which they do are comparatively everything, their impulses nothing. . . . The too close pressing semblance of reality (in acting) gives a pain and an uneasiness which totally destroys all the delight which the words in the book convey, where the deed doing never presses upon us with the painful sense of presence; it seems rather to belong to history—to something past and inevitable, if it has anything to do with time at all. The sublime images, the poetry alone, is that which is present to our minds in the reading.” The conclusion of all of which is, that these plays were meant for the closet rather than the stage, for reading rather than for acting.

Again, Lamb says: “I cannot help being of opinion that the plays of Shakespeare are less calculated for performance on a stage than of almost any other dramatist whatever. Their distinguishing excellence is a reason that they should be so. There is so much in them which comes not under the provision of acting, with which eye, and tone, and gesture have nothing to do.” And; “Lear is essentially impossible to

be represented on a stage. . . . The Lear of Shakespeare cannot be acted. The contemptible machinery by which they mimic the storm which he goes out in is not more inadequate to represent the horrors of the real elements, than any actor can be to represent Lear. . . . The play is beyond all art, as the tamperings with it show; it is too hard and stony; it must have love scenes and a happy ending. It is not enough that Cordelia is a daughter, she must shine as a lover too. Tate has put his hook in the nostrils of this Leviathan, for Garrick and his followers, the showmen of scene, to draw the mighty beast about more easily."

Tennyson has left us his opinion that "Lear cannot possibly be acted; it is too titanic. . . . No play—not even the Agamemnon—is so terrifically human".

Gollancz says: "For more than a century and a half, Tate's perversion of Lear held the stage. It was to this acting edition that Lamb referred in his famous criticism. Garrick, Kemble, Kean, and other great actors were quite content with this travesty, but the Lear of Shakespeare cannot be acted." Charles Knight says of another of these plays: "The feeling which the study of Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida slowly but certainly calls forth, is that of almost prostration before the marvelous intellect which has produced it. *But this is the result of study*, as we have said. *The play cannot be understood upon a superficial reading*: it is full of the most subtle art. We may set aside particular passages, and admire their eloquence—their profound wisdom: *but it is long before the play as*

a whole, obtains its proper mastery over the understanding.' And yet, these plays, entirely over the heads of the theater goers of any stage of the 16th century, and nearly as much so to-day, are supposed to have been expressly written for the entertainment of the rabble of London, just emerging from barbarism, and thrown off merely as pot-boilers by a tramp player.

There is no evidence that William Shaksper ever received one penny royalty on a Shakespeare play, or any other play. There is no evidence that he ever possessed a property in any Shakespeare or other play; and when he died, no Shakespeare, or other play, was found among his personal effects; nor was there mention of anything of the kind, or of any literary matter whatever in his last Will. These plays were entered on the Stationers' Register, not in the name of one publisher, but of nearly as many publishers as there were different plays. Most of them in their successive editions appeared without an author's name, or one edition of a given play would be anonymous, and the next not. Ten years after William Shaksper is supposed to have begun to write plays, a publisher used the name of "William Shakespeare" on a title page, prompted to do so, I believe, by the extraordinary success of certain poems which had borne the sobriquet of "William Shake-speare", and after that, some of this series of plays bore that name, while others did not, but issued anonymously. As I have before said, the first appearance of a Shakespeare play was usually on the occasion of some grand festivity at Court or elsewhere, and then in a quite different form from the same play when it came to be

printed. No doubt the manager of the Curtain or the Globe was at liberty (purchased from the publishers or not) to adopt such scenes from these or any other printed plays, as would suit the people who looked to him for entertainment. He was not the man to work for nothing, to write a play of ten thousand words for private reading, when one thousand words were all he could use, or wanted for his public theater. This man had a mission to perform—so Wendell tells us, and he knows—to make a fortune, and he accomplished it. All his life he worked to that end, and what did not tend to that end was not done by him.

Even at the present day, no one of the Shakespeare plays is put upon the stage as it left its author's hand, but all have been altered and abridged according to the whims of successive generations of actors and editors. With the attractions of artistic scenery, trained and accomplished actors, beautiful and superbly costumed actresses, and music, it is hard to make an abbreviated Shakespeare play attract the town for a week together; and most of the audience go, not to hear the words and wisdom of Shakespeare, but to see the beauty and fashion in the boxes, or the splendid pageant on the stage. That is what most people nowadays go to the representation of a Shakespeare play for.*

*After the above lines were written, I read in *Munsey's Magazine* for May, 1896: "During one week in March, there were three productions of Shakespeare plays at as many Broadway houses. By many this might be hailed as a happy antidote to the rage for vaudevilles. As a matter of fact, all three presentations were merely the realization of cherished personal ambitions

A small minority, consisting of reading and cultivated persons, really go for better reasons. But how many would go if there were no beauty and fashion, no ladies unless masked, no scenery, and if the female characters were personated (or travestied) by men and boys? How many, if the performance took place beneath the open sky, and under the barbarous conditions which prevailed in the time of Elizabeth? Not one; and it is absurd to suppose that the public, whom Johnson characterized as gross and dark, and especially the lower class of people, who, according to the same authority, were but just emerging from barbarism,

on the part of star performers. By tradition Shakespeare is regarded as the top round of the mummer's ladder. To be sure, if the Bard of Avon should appear on Gotham's Rialto with the manuscript of Julius Caesar, or Romeo and Juliet, in his pocket, he would find just as hard a row to hoe, in securing a staging, as does Skaggs of Skeneateles, with his 'Sixteen Wives to a Husband', of more modern make. The managers. . . . know that Shakespeare does not pay unless he is well sugar-coated with unequalled scenic effect, and even then it is touch and go if you ever get your money back." And in Book News, for May, 1896, I read this: "It is that part of the theater-going public which is respectable and absolutely commonplace that Mr. Daly appeals to. . . . This is what Mr. Daly applies to Shakespeare. He first cuts out every frank phrase in the play, then every scene that is not rapid and spicy, then he upholsters it, and then he turns loose on it his troupe of society actors. He knows his world." Showman Shaksper knew his world also, and was not such a fool as to present a Shakespeare play as written to the audiences of the Curtain.

Fleay, Hist., 169, says: "I am sure that no popular audience (in our day) would be attracted by Shakespeare's poetry, or Irving's acting, were it not for the subsidiary aids of scenery, upholstery, splendid dress and euphonious melody."

could have been attracted by these plays, in the shape in which we have them, at the public theater, in 1590 or later.*

There is scarcely any description extant of the performance of a possible Shakespeare play at the theater between 1587 and 1623—anything beyond the bare title of a play, and then, as I have said, there is never coupled with it the name of Shakespeare. What there is, is chiefly contained in the note-book of Dr. Simon Forman, an astrologer of that period. Mr. Phillipps, II, 87, says: "In the Ashmole collection of manuscripts is a little tract, in the autograph of Dr. Simon Forman, giving his accounts of the representation of three of the Shakespeare plays, namely, *The Winter's Tale*, at the Globe, 15 May, 1611; *Cymbeline* (time and place not given), and *Macbeth*, at the Globe, 20 April, 1610." That these were Shakespeare's plays is Mr. Phillipps' assertion, but Forman nowhere says they were. Of *Macbeth*, H.-P. says, I, 230, "that it is the only contemporary notice that has been discovered." Besides the accounts of Forman, there is a brief outline of the plot of *Twelfth Night*, perhaps the Shakespeare play of that name, perhaps

*Dr. Johnson, Preface to *Shakespeare's Works*, 1765, says: "The English nation, in the time of Shakespeare, was yet struggling to emerge from barbarity. . . . Literature was yet confined to professed scholars or to men and women of high rank. The public was gross and dark."

He also tells us that if such plays as those of Shakespeare were written in 1765, the audience would not sit them out, thus: "He has scenes of undoubted excellence, but perhaps not one play which, if it were now exhibited as the work of a contemporary writer, would be heard to the conclusion."

not, played at the Middle Temple, by John Manningham, occupying but four lines in Mr. Phillipps' book; and that is all that any of the writers during thirty odd years gave of the representation of a play which might have been a Shakespeare play. This is a remarkable state of things. Shakespeare plays performed at William Shaksper's theaters for thirty years, written expressly to fill his theaters and his pockets, as Shakspercians say—the talk of the town—a new play the event of the season—so Halliwell-Phillipps says, and not the slightest testimony has reached this age, that any educated man, any man of letters, any man eminent in any department of knowledge, or even any man belonging to the upper classes, ever went to see a Shakespeare play, not merely at a public theater, but at a private one, or at court. The quack ("charlatan", Fleay calls him), Simon Forman, saw three plays with names like those of certain Shakespeare plays in some sort of presentation, and John Manningham records in his diary in the briefest manner that a play called *Twelfth Night* was had at "our feast". He does not say that it was a Shakespeare play; but it was "near to that in Italian called *Inganni*"; and for aught that appears it may not have been a Shakespeare play. That is all, and there is no record of any other man, high or low, having witnessed any of them, anywhere or at any time. If such plays were performed with the effect Halliwell-Phillipps asserts, they should have been mentioned in private correspondence, in diaries, in pamphlets or books. It was an age of diaries; and long letters filled with the gossip of the town, and the latest news, public and private, went

from London to all quarters of the kingdom, serving the purpose of newspapers, which were invented only at the close of the 17th century. Later in that century, these plays are repeatedly mentioned in diaries or books, and criticisms of both play and actors are recorded at length. This makes it the more remarkable, that the Shakespeare plays, having had the popularity claimed for them by modern Shakspeareans, should not have been mentioned at all in either diary or correspondence contemporary with the career of William Shaksper;—Ingleby and Furnivall are witness to the fact. One would suppose that a series of Shakespeare plays anywhere would have attracted some one else than the rabble of London. As Ingleby says: "The absence of sundry great names, with which no pains of research could connect the most trivial allusions, is tacitly significant."

The significance consists in this, that it is evident that scholars and poets and philosophers, and, in general, literary men, did not go to see these plays in the public theaters,* (there is no existing evidence that a

* Morgan, 147: "At the same time that Bacon and Shakespeare are living, unknown to each other respectively, in London, there also dwelt three other gentlemen—Sir Walter Raleigh, Edmund Spenser, and Sir Tobie Matthew. We, therefore, actually have four well-known gentlemen of the day in London, gentlemen of elegant tastes, poets, men about town, critics, who, if the town were being convulsed by the production at a theater of by far the most brilliant miracles of genius that the world has ever seen, ought not in the nature of things, to have been utterly misinformed as to the circumstances. The four have left precisely such memoranda of their time as are of assistance to us here. Bacon, in his *Apothegms*. Spenser in his

Shakespeare play was performed in a private theater during William Shaksper's career), and if any such persons saw one of them at Court, he did not deem it of enough importance to speak of it in a letter, or to note it down in his diary. If the Shakespeare plays were seen at a theater at all, it was before an audience illiterate, "gross and dark", and the presentation was necessarily of a character to suit and please that sort of audience.

To return to Forman's account of Macbeth: "There was to be observed, first, how Mackbeth and Bancko ridinge throwe a wood" (that is, they appeared on the stage when the curtain was raised [if there was a curtain] mounted on wooden horses, for as Phillipps tells us, II, 259, rude models of horses, the bodies dilated with hoops and laths, were familiar objects on the early English stage), "there stode before him three women feiries or nimphes" (the weird sisters were personated by men whose heads were disfigured by grotesque periwigs, H.-P., l. c.). "And when

poems, and Raleigh and Matthew in their remains—appear to have stumbled on no trace of such a character as 'Shakespeare' in all their sauntering about London. Especially on one occasion does Sir Tobie devote himself to a subject matter, wherein, if there had been any Shakespeare in ken, he would, we think, very naturally have mentioned him. In the Address to the Reader, prefixed to one of his works, he says, speaking of his own date: 'I doubt if it will go near to pass any other nations of Europe to muster out in any age four men, who, in so many respects should be able to excel four such as we are able to show—Cardinal Wolsey, Sir Thomas More, Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir Francis Bacon. For they were all a kind of monsters in their various ways', etc.

Mackbeth had mured the kinge, the blod on his hands could not be washed off by any means, nor from his wifes hands which handled the bluddi daggers. . . . The murder being known Dunkins two sons fled. Then Mackbeth, for fear of Bancko, caused him to be murdered on the way as he rode" (on the wooden horse). "The ghoste of Banco came and sat down in the chair behiud him. And he, turning about to sit down again, sawe the ghoste of Banco, which fronted him so, that he fell into a great passion of fear and fury, uttering many words about his murder. . . . Then Mac Dove fled to England. . . . In the mean tyme Mackbeth slew Mc Doves wife and children, and after the battelle Mac Dove slew Mackbet. Mackbetes wife did rise in the night in her slepe, and walked and talked and confessed all".

There is nothing in this account implying that the performance was more than a pantomime, with here and there an explanatory word thrown in, what Fleay styles a dumb-show, and which was very popular. We hear of the action only, and rapid action, and it all took place in the brief afternoon, on the bare stage, one thing succeeding another in plain view of the crowd. The wooden horse stood there at the beginning, and Macbeth and Banquo must have dismounted, while the beast remained for Banquo to mount again, in order that he might be cut down as he rode. We can see it all—the three "nimphes", the arrival at Duncan's court—a placard on the wall to explain that this was the article; Duncan coming to Macbeth's castle (another placard); the murder of Duncan and of the

guards; the bloody daggers, and Lady Macbeth, in her sleep, walking and talking; the cutting down of Banquo; the ghost in the chair; the flight of Macduff, and the murder of his wife and babes; finally the battle and death of Macbeth. Dr. Forman says nothing of the speeches or dialogue of the play, the very part and the only part, that to-day would be written of by an eye-witness of the performance as worth recollecting.

"The raven himself is hoarse
That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan
Under my battlements. Come you spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here;
And fill me from the crown to the toe, top-full
Of direst cruelty".

"Is this a dagger that I see before me
The handle toward my hand?"

"Methought I heard a voice say 'Sleep no more!
Macbeth hath murdered sleep!'"

"Infirm of purpose
Give me the dagger".

"Thou canst not say I did it, never shake
Thy gory locks at me."

"Avaunt and quit my sight!"

"Thy bones are marrowless, thy blood is cold,
Thou hast no speculation in those eyes
Which thou dost glare with".

"Here's the smell of blood still; all the perfume of
Arabia will not sweeten this little hand."

Nothing of all this. The action of the play was evidently what struck Dr. Forman. There can be no

certainly that the play in question was the *Macbeth* of the Folio. There are omissions in Forman's account which are incomprehensible if he was seeing the Shakespeare play—as the witch scenes and the incantations. He saw “three women fairies or nimpes,” and nothing more is said of them. So of the apparitions and Birnam wood, there is not a word.

We may be sure that if it was a Shakespeare play the speeches and soliloquies were not given; that the dialogues were cut down to what was merely necessary to explain the action; and that the action was reduced a full half. The audiences were like so many children—cruel children. They wanted no philosophy, no metaphysics, no long-drawn speeches—nothing but blood.

Mr. Phillipps has told us that they reveled in the horrible, and that murders were in special request. They were made up of the scourgings of London, the vile, the vicious, and the ignorant; the men and boys who used to flock to the hangings and drawings and quarterings; and who regretted the good old times when there were roastings at the stake. Blood they wanted, and in the action of such plays as *Macbeth*, and *Titus Andronicus*, and *Henry VI*, they got their fill of it. How they yelled as Duncan and the guards were stabbed, and the imitation blood ran in quarts; as Banquo tumbled from the wooden horse, at the shrieks of Lady Macduff and the children; at the final battle!

In the same way Dr. Forman gives the bare action of *Cymbeline* and the *Winter's Tale*: “Remember also the storri of Cymbelin, King of England in Lucius

tyme; how Lucius came from Octavus Cesar for tribut, and being denied, after sent Lucius with a grate armi of soldiars, who landed at Milford Haven, and affter wer vanquished by Cimbalin, and Lucius taken prisoner; and all by means of three outlawes; of the which two of them were the sonns of Cimbalin, stolen from him when they were but two years old by an old man whom Cimbalin banished, and he kept them as his own sonns twenty years with him in a cave; and how one of them slew Cloten, that was the quens sonn going to Milford Haven to sek the love of Imogen, the Kinges daughter, whom he had banished also for lovinge his daughter; and how the Italian that cam from her love conveyed himself into a cheste, and said yt was a chest of plate sent from her love and others to be presented to the Kinge; and in the deepest of the night, she being aslepe, he opened the cheste, and came forth of yt, and viewed her in her bed, and the marks of her body, and toke away her braslet and after accusing her of adultery to her love, etc., and in th'end how he came with the Romains into England; and was taken prisoner, and after reveled to Imogen, who had turned herself into man's apparell, and fled to mete her love at Milford Haven and chanced to fall on the cave in the woods wher her two brothers were; and how by eating a sleeping dram, they thought she had been deed, and laid her in the wodes, and body of Cloten by her in her loves apparell that he left behind him; and how she was found by Lucius," etc. Here is no hint of speeches or dialogue, nothing but action, and suitable to a Dumb-Show. The story of the Winter's Tale is described in the same way. These

narratives sustain the view that the Shakespeare plays were not performed at the public theaters, but skeletons, or special scenes from them only; and those, it is highly probable, most often in pantomime.

Both Fleay and Knight tell us that dumb-shows, a new style of playing introduced from Italy, were very popular in the last years of the century. And Hamlet, in 1603, implies the same thing. The action of a dumb-show or a spectacular scene, if there were blood enough, would attract an audience to fill the diminutive theater; but *it is not to be believed, and cannot be proved, that the Shakespeare plays were ever performed at length or were anywhere popular*. Mr. Phillipps would have us believe that a new Shakespeare play was the event of the year (1592) and that the town was in a furore over it, but when we search for the proofs of this, they are remarkable for their absence. He tells us that Henry VI (meaning Shakespeare's) was the success of the year—visited by ten thousand persons, and refers to Nash as his authority. Nash says (Ingleby, 5): "How it would have joyed brave Talbot to think that after he had lain two hundred years in his tomb, he should triumph again on the stage, and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least (at several times)," etc. On this, Ingleby says that "the play in question may or may not be identical with the first part of Henry VI of the Folio of 1623"; and anyhow "whether Shakespeare had any hand in this latter play is to say the least problematical." According to Ingleby, therefore, Phillipps was not justified in citing Nash as witness to the popularity of a Shake-

speare play, for the probabilities are that the play was not a Shakespeare play. As we have before seen, later commentators of distinction are agreed that 1st Henry VI was written in collaboration by Marlowe, Peele, Lodge, and either Greene and Kyd. Fleay, 273, is of opinion that about 1588-9 Marlowe plotted, and in conjunction with the playwrights named, wrote 1st Henry VI for the Queen's men. In 1591-2, the Queen's men sold the play with others to Lord Strange's men (with whom was William Shaksper), who produced it in 1592, with the Talbot additions made by some other playwright. He thinks this other was "Shakespeare", but that is merely a name for an author unknown. The point is that Phillipps' claim to the popularity of a new Shakespeare play, meaning a play written by his bard, William Shaksper, is not supported by his citation of Marlowe's play of 1st Henry VI.

Mr. Phillipps uses nearly the same expressions as to *Romeo and Juliet*, "which was produced at the Curtain Theater, 1596, and met with great success. *Romeo and Juliet* may be said indeed to have taken the metropolis by storm and to have become the play of the season. . . . The long continued popularity of *Romeo and Juliet* may be inferred from several earlier allusions, as well as from the express testimony of Leonard Digges." Vol. I, 128. As Digges was born in 1688, he was but eight years old when this play was "first produced"!

On turning to Ingleby, 154, to see what Digges really said (in his verses prefixed to the Folio, 1623, twenty-

seven years after *Romeo and Juliet* was first produced,) we find simply these words:

“Nor shall I e’er believe or think thee dead
(Though mist) until our bankrout stage be sped
(Impossible) with some new strain to out-do
Passions of *Juliet* and her *Romeo*”.

There is not another line in *Phillipps* which shows that *Romeo and Juliet* was played after this first production, and even that production seems a mere inference from something quoted from *Marston’s* “*Scourge of Villanie*”, 1598. One of the characters is made to say:

“Luscus what’s played to-day? faith now I know
I set thy lips abroach, from whence doth flow
Naught but pure *Juliet* and *Romeo*.”

Marston used the expression “*Curtaine plaudeties*” in this connection, which as appears from *Phillipps*, I, 366, may have meant the play-house, or, on the other hand, it may have been meant for theatrical. Then *Phillipps* goes on: “*If the supposition that Marston speaks of the Curtain theater is correct, it is certain that Shakespeare’s tragedy of Romeo and Juliet was there plaid* publicly by the Right Honorable the L. of *Hunsdon* his servants, title page of edition 1597. . . . *It may be then safely assumed that Shakespeare’s Romeo and Juliet was acted at the Curtain theater some time between July 22, 1596, the day on which Lord Hunsdon died, and April 17, 1597, when his son was appointed to the office of Privy Council Register. During those nine months the company was known as Lord Huns-*

don's''. The above is an excellent example of Mr. Phillipps' logic.

"The first production" spoken of, on p. 128, seems to be the same as that on p. 366. Phillipps nowhere else speaks of any performance, though, I, 405, he quotes the title page of the edition of 1597: "An excellent conceited tragedie of Romeo and Juliet as it hath been often (with great applause) plaid publicly", etc., as I have before given it. The title page of the 2d Quarto, 1599, says: "Newly corrected, augmented, and amended; as it hath bene sundry times publicly acted by the right H. the L. Chamberlain's servants." Nowhere is there direct evidence that this play was performed at one of the public theaters; and, as I have elsewhere shown, it was impossible that a Shakespeare play could have been so performed, except greatly abbreviated.

On looking up the "several early allusions", spoken of by Phillipps, they are limited to this one of Marston's, and Weever's mention by name of the issue of "honie-tongued Shakespeare", in his Epigrams of 1595, where the compound word "Romea-Richard" appears, and nothing else. There is no such play as Romea-Richard, and what the first part of the name means is not apparent. If, in 1595, there was a play known as Romea, meaning Romeo, then its first production would not seem to have been in 1596, and Romeo must have been the older play spoken of by Fleay. On the strength of these two trivial, and one of them doubtful, allusions, away goes Phillipps, discoursing of "the long continued popularity of Romeo and Juliet"; and of its "taking the metropolis by

storm"; "the success of the season"; an excellent example of his habit when he fires up on the subject of "the bard of our admiration", or "the great dramatist", always meaning the strolling player, William Shaksper. Every testimony to the popularity of a Shakespeare play will be found to peter out in like fashion. One remark further from Phillipps on this play of *Romeo and Juliet* I must give (I, 128): "But it is rather singular that the author's name is not mentioned in any of the old editions, until some time after the year 1609." On this I quote T. W. White, 127: "Some time after 1609, a fourth quarto edition (of *Romeo and Juliet*) was published without any date, but with the name of William Shakespeare as author. But what happened? After a few copies had been sold, Shakespeare's name was withdrawn, and the rest of the impression was issued anonymously." (New Shakespeare Soc. II. Daniel's *Romeo and Juliet*, London, 1874, Intro., IV.)

This play was never attributed to William Shakespeare, except on the few copies spoken of, until the Folio appeared, 1623. Mr. White believes that the withdrawal of Shakespeare's name on the title page of this fourth Quarto was caused by a legal proceeding had or threatened.*

* T. W. White says: "There is direct evidence that *Romeo and Juliet* was written by Samuel Daniel in the *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*. Gallio, having given a certain passage as his own, Ingenioso exclaims: 'Mark! I think he will run through a whole book of Samuel Daniel'. If the words mean anything, they mean that Samuel Daniel was known as the author of *Romeo and Juliet*."

Even at Court, between 1589, when Fleay says the first Shakespeare play was given (*Love's Labour's Lost*), and 1610, when Shaksper retired from the company of players, there were but 88 performances of any sort by himself and associates—88 performances in twenty years. Some of the plays may have been Shakespeare plays; others doubtless bore similar names to the Shakespeare plays, but were written by earlier authors. Others of the eighty-eight, were by Jonson and different playwrights. We know this because Mr. Fleay records several such by name, as played before the Court by the Chamberlain's Company, or the King's Company. In the Appendix to his book (*Life*) is a list of all performances by the Shaksper companies before the Court during the period named, year by year; and four or five at other places, as Gray's Inn, Somerset House, etc., etc. Therefore, we are warranted in asserting that the Shakespeare plays between 1589 and 1610 were not performed before the Court on an average of more than twice a year.

At these Court performances any Shakespeare play must have been cut down to an hour or so. As in the city theaters, there was no movable scenery, and there were no actresses. The fashionable set about the Queen, or James, would soon tire of the declamations and rantings and questionable jokes of fellows that they held in the same consideration as jugglers and buffoons, and whose very utterance and movement they spent their wit in audibly ridiculing. "The queen patronized the players, but it was only as she patronized the bulls, bears and apes, which were baited for her amusement". T. W. White, 283. In the

same way the players were baited for her amusement, to the delight of the courtiers.

And here I would remark, that the Court seems to have appreciated five-act plays and Shakespeare plays vastly less than did the rabble at the public theaters, if we are to believe what the commentators tell us. Interludes and dumb-shows were played in the theaters up to 1589, and the shows had become popular. In steps an inspired butcher with his five-act play of *Love's Labour's Lost*, a supreme effort in genteel comedy, and the groundlings are so enamored with the poetry and pictures of high life (in southern France, of all places in the world!) with the abundant Latin and French, with the discourses on philology, divinity, and law, that they cry aloud for five-act plays; they cry for them as children cry for castoria, with the result that, up to 1592, they get four more plays to their mind—*Much Ado About Nothing*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Romeo and Juliet*—the scenes laid in Italy and Sicily and Asia; Dukes, Princes, Lords and Ladies galore. All this they got because they cried (conclamabant) for it. Happy, happy groundlings! One distinguished member of the American Shakespeare Society has it in print that the Shakespeare plays are the direct outcome of the clamor of the galleries, and but for this, there would have been no Shakespeare plays. Now Symonds tells us that the occupants of the gallery were the same sort as the stinkards below, plus the prostitutes.

On the other hand, while the intellectual and cultivated penny-knaves were clamoring for five-act plays, the unintellectual and uncultivated Court, from 1586

to 1592, was content with Interludes, Masks, and the the gambols of the Children of the Revels. Truly the contrast is surprising! I remember that Fleay charges certain Shakespeare commentators with having mischievously fertile imaginations, and also that an eminent authority long ago left her opinion that this world was too much given to lying.

After 1623, when the reading community had the opportunity to become acquainted with the whole body of Shakespeare plays, through the Folio, these should have become popular. But it was not so. Dr. Ingleby, 157, quoting Malone says: "The office book of Sir Henry Herbert contains an account of almost every piece exhibited in any of the theaters from August, 1623, to the commencement of the rebellion, 1651. By this it appears that the Winter's Tale was acted at Whitehall, 18th of Jan., 1623; Sir John Falstaff (Henry IV), at same place, 1624; Richard III, at St. James, 1633; The Taming of A Shrew, St. James, 1633; Cymbeline (at Court), 1633; The Winter's Tale, at Court, 1633; and Julius Caesar, at St. James, 1636. That is to say, from the publication of the Folio, in the next eighteen years, seven representations of Shakespeare plays, or plays with titles similar to those of the Shakespeare plays—for the record never says "by Shakespeare"—were given before the rank and fashion of the land, or about one every three years.

After the Restoration, we hear of Lear and Macbeth, as altered by Davenant; Troilus and Cressida, as rewritten by Dryden; "The Tempest, made into an opera by Mr. Shadwell, having all new in it, as scenes,

machines; particularly one scene painted with myriads of Ariel spirits; and another flying away with a table furnished out with fruits, sweetmeats, and all sorts of viands, just when Duke Trinculo and his companions were going to dinner”.

“The Fairy Queen: This is Shakespeare’s Midsummers Nights Dream with additions, songs and dances, 24 Chinese, and Juno in a machine drawn by peacocks. While a symphony plays, the machine moves forward, and the peacocks spread their tails, etc. Later six monkeys come from behind the trees and dance,” etc.

There is no evidence that at any time the Shakespeare plays as “William Shakespeare” wrote them were popular, that is, capable of filling the theaters or the managers’ pockets; and yet, after the Restoration, the female parts were taken by women, several of whom seem to have been admirable actresses, and stage scenery had been introduced. Other attractions had to be offered. Doran says that (about 1700) “the theaters had not proved popular. The public greeted acrobats with louder acclaim than any poet. Dancers, strong men, and quadrupeds were called in to attract the town.” “At a performance of Othello, *between the acts*, Dutch posture-masters kept the audience in good humor”.

Ingleby goes on to say: “But Sir Henry Herbert left several other papers. from which Malone gives us the following notices of Shakespeare plays. Out of the twenty stock plays of the Red Bull actors, afterwards called the King’s servants, from 1660 to 1663, three were Shakespeare’s. Out of a list of 67 entered

by Sir Henry Herbert, from 5 March, 1660, to July 23d, 1662, only three were Shakespeare's. Downes, the prompter's, list of the stock plays of the King's servants from 1660 to 1682, gives only four of Shakespeare's. Davenant's company acted some of Shakespeare's, part of which had been altered. The notes for the next thirty years show us ten of Shakespeare's own, and ten altered by various writers, which were performed before 1692". The public quickly forgot Shakespeare and accepted Davenant, and Dryden, Tate, Dufey, Cibber, and John Philip Kemble, as something better than the original, and even then, one of these plays was seldom performed.

The summing up of the matter is this: William Shaksper belonged to a company of players which was called in successive periods by several names—at length, after 1603, the King's players. It was their duty to amuse the Court when ordered so to do. This Company, under one name or other, had occupied three public theaters, the then lowest place of public entertainment; first, the Theater; next, the Curtain; and, finally, the Globe; and they played in no other theaters. They were in the habit of giving performances in the open air anywhere about town where a crowd could be collected, just as tumblers and jugglers perform now in London streets. Sometimes they played on an extemporized platform—"boards and barrel heads"—in the open court or yard of one of the London Inns. The larger part of the year they strolled up and down England and Scotland divided into small squads, and played at fairs or wherever they happened to be.

There is no possibility that any Shakespeare play was ever acted at length while the detachments were thus strolling; * a separate scene might have been, but as to whether even that was given there is no information. There is no evidence or probability that any Shakespeare play was ever acted at a public theater, except in a very brief form, a mere skeleton, or interlude, or in dumb-show. The nature of the public theater prohibited anything beyond this. There is no evidence whatever that a Shakespeare play was ever acted by William Shaksper's Company, or any other Company, at a private theater. There is a record of four or five performances of some sort of play at the Earl of Pembroke's, Gray's Inn, or the like, in the years during which William Shaksper was a player or manager (Rowland White, in one of his letters given in the Sydney Memoirs, II, 91, says that on 14 February, 1898, there was a grand entertainment given at the Essex House. "They had two plays, which kept them up till one o'clock after midnight"); and of an average of about two and a half performances per

* Fleay, *Life*, 229, says: "On the title-page of the 1st Quarto (*Hamlet*, 1603), it is said that the play has been acted in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and elsewhere. . . . *Hamlet* was entered by Roberts, 26 July, 1602, in S. R., 'as it was lately acted'. Plays thus produced during travels were hurried and careless performances; indeed, this form of *Hamlet* seems to have been an unfinished refashioning of the old play by Kyd that had long been performed by the Chamberlain's men." On page 233, Fleay speaks of this 1st Quarto as "a hurried revision of the work of an earlier writer, but it must be remembered, in a most mutilated form." This "most mutilated form" would be "as it was acted", etc.

year at Court during the same period. There is no reason for believing that even at Court any Shakespeare play was ever acted at length, or otherwise than in a very much abbreviated form; and, indeed, we are expressly told this was the case.

There is no evidence that these plays were anywhere popular, either among cultivated people or the rabble, the "groundlings" of Hamlet, the "penny-knaves" as Ingleby calls them, the "stinkards" of Symonds, who flocked to the Globe, though certain scenes of them were very probably popular, such as, from their brutality, carnage or ribaldry, were on a moral level with that audience.

I shall in due time show (Chaps. XI, XII), that during the period from 1589 to 1623, these plays were wholly unappreciated even by the better class of people, by the educated, and that they were regarded as in no whit superior to the plays written by a score of other authors.

Finally, the assertion that they were written to fill the public theaters and the pockets of William Shaksper, their alleged author, through the money they brought to the theater, is unwarranted. As I have said before, a course of Shakespeare plays would have bankrupted any theater. No audience would have sat them out, and the pit at the Curtain or the Globe would have pelted the players, or given them a hiding, had such a thing been attempted by the managers.

Now that we have seen what the theater was, and what the audience, and what sort of men those licensed vagabonds must have been, we can judge of the probability of the most poetical head in England, "the

greatest poet of the modern world", as Professor Symonds styles him, the "fullest head of which we have any record", according to James Russell Lowell, the "myriad-minded" author of the Shakespeare plays, as Coleridge calls him, taking up his abode and remaining for twenty-five years with that disgusting crowd. William Shaksper could and did do that thing, but the author of the immortal plays could not have done it, and he did not do it. Can any one imagine a heaven-born poet deliberately taking up his abode, and contentedly living the remainder of his days, with Snug the joiner, Bottom the weaver, and Snout the tinker?—and those particular worthies were not tainted with every vice, we have reason to believe. "Acting" is not the word to describe the beggarly performances given by the Curtain company, or the Globe company, either at the Theater or on the tramp. They were players, not actors. Jonson intimates that their proper place was at Goose Fair, and he hints broadly at the character of the prevalent vices among them. Wendell takes pains to tell us that the theater was not a socially respectable place,—that it was the center of organized vice. And the quotations I have given from Phillipps and Symonds bear him out.

William Shaksper, ex-butcher and poacher, escaped to London, under the law that birds of a feather flock together, would naturally find his fellows at the public theater, and could lose no caste by it. But it is utterly impossible that the author of the Shakespeare plays, an educated and learned man, as well as a gentleman, of which the plays themselves give evidence, could have sunk into that unclean nest, and volun-

tarily have spent his life among pimps and panders, or strolling about the land "with a blind jade and a hamper", cutting his Jim Crow antics, in inn-yards, on boards and barrel-heads.

Even as a player, William Shaksper was a failure. Burbage, and Alleyn, and Kempe, his associates, left some sort of a reputation to the next age, but of Shaksper there is nothing. According to Rowe, "the top of his performance was the Ghost in his own Hamlet. There is some ground for thinking" (indefinite knowledge is definite ignorance) "that he played the part of Knowell in Jonson's Every Man in his Humour"; and there is a confused tradition handed down by William Oldys (1696-1761), antiquarian, which makes it probable that he was the Adam of "As You Like It". Dowden, 19. R. G. White says, Appleton's Enc. "Shakespeare": "We are tolerably well informed by contemporary writers of the performances of the eminent actors of that time, but of Shakespeare (Shaksper) we read nothing." A strange fact! No end of evidence of Shaksper's money transactions, but nothing of him as a player—the occupation in which he spent the best half of his life, in contemporary annals. The truth unquestionably is that to his contemporaries he was known simply as proprietor of a theater, and as a trader and money lender.

Oldys says that one of William's younger brothers, whom he calls Charles, and who lived to a great age, when questioned in his later years, said that he could remember nothing of William's performances, but seeing him act a part in one of his own comedies, wherein,

to personate a decrepit old man, he wore a long beard, and appeared so weak and drooping, and unable to walk that he was forced to be supported, and carried to a table, at which he was seated among some company and one of them sang a song." This is circumstantial enough, and indicates no loss of memory on the part of the venerable brother. The wonder is, if he could remember so much, and so minutely, that he could not have remembered more. Unfortunately, William did not have any such older brother, or any brother Charles, and that forgery goes with the many others. Fleay tells us, 170, (H.-P. I, 238), "that on the 4th Feby., 1613, the poet's only surviving brother, Richard, was buried at Stratford." His memory as a player then rests only on what Rowe tells us, but if there is only some reason for thinking he played the part of old Knowell, there is as much reason for believing he did not. Evidently, William Shaksper played inferior parts, such as would not impress the spectators. He was not known to his contemporaries therefore as a player, nor as a writer of plays, but he had a reputation which has reached our day as a jack-at-all-trades, a manager of a strolling company, and as proprietor of a public theater—the lowest, nastiest, place of entertainment. But always he was known as a man who had money to loan—for a sufficient consideration.

And now we can understand why William Shaksper, player, manager, and part proprietor of the Globe, was unknown to the men of that age; that there is no mention of him in any letter, save in one instance where a Stratford neighbor writes to him for a loan of

money; or diary of that age, save one entry in Manningham's diary, (which makes him party to a discreditable amour); that there is no testimony to connect him with writing any sort of play; and there is not a tittle of evidence that any man or woman of mark, or any gentleman or lady, ever spoke to him.

CHAPTER VIII.

WILLIAM SHAKSPER'S THIRST FOR WEALTH.

When I say there are few mentions of the man Shaksper, I mean as connected with the theater. There are many in other avocations, as buying and selling, investing money at Stratford and elsewhere, loaning money, and prosecuting debtors. In 1598, Adrian Quiney writes to him in London about money, and this is the only letter to-day extant addressed to the player. "The fact is somewhat startling in the life of a great poet that the only letter addressed to Shakespeare (Shaksper), which is known to exist, is one which asks for a loan of money". R. G. White, *Life and Genius*, 123. Very significant as well as startling, I should say!

"He appears not only as an advancer of money, but also one who negotiates loans through other capitalists". H.-P., I, 164. From the beginning of his career in London money was the object of his heart, and as Rowe tell us, "by his incessant attention to business" he attained it in an unusually large degree. Wendell, 433, says: "The son of a ruined tradesman, and saddled with a wife and three children, his business at 23 was to so conduct his life that he might end it not as a laborer, but as a gentleman. After five-and-twenty years of steady work, this end had been accomplished." Incessant attention to business, and twenty-five years of steady work in a player's life,

would seem to leave little time for anything outside of business. There are unreflecting persons who suppose William Shaksper was coining money by the Shakespeare plays, instead of by trading, buying and selling real estate in London, Stratford, and many other places; loaning his money at usurious interest, as the books plainly intimate; by farming and brewing beer. R. G. White says, *Shakespeare Studies*, 209: "The point to be constantly kept in mind in the critical consideration of Shakespeare's dramas is, that they were written by a second-rate actor (player Shaksper) whose first object was money, to get on in life. He wrote what he wrote merely to fill the theater and his own pockets". I think I have made it clear that had this man written the Shakespeare plays in order to fill the Theater, or Curtain, or Globe, the only theaters with which he was connected, he would have emptied instead of filled his own pockets. That theory may as well be dismissed. He did not write the Shakespeare plays, and his aim in life being what it was, he could not have written them, even if he had had the ability to do it. The passion for money-making is antagonistic to the passion for study. The two cannot exist in the same mind. A man may become rich as a result of his passion for literature, but he cannot become learned by study, or distinguished in literature, when money-making has been his first object. There is no pretense that Shaksper had a passion for literature, or cared one stiver for it. "He wrote merely to fill his own pockets". Then he never wrote the Shakespeare plays. He had an enormous capacity for getting money, else he would not have

accumulated a property that yielded an income equivalent to twenty-five thousand dollars to-day. His one feat was getting money; there is nothing else. He saved his earnings from his first months in London; even as a horse boy, he employed other boys to work for him, and so gained money. He invested in any good thing that came to hand, executed commissions, negotiated loans with other capitalists, Phillips says. By and by he bought a share in a theater, which proved a very profitable investment; bought houses and lots in London, houses and lands in Stratford, farms here and there; was always trading, even to the buying and selling of agricultural products; was engaged in the making and sale of malt; buys for £440 "the unexpired term of the moiety of a valuable lease of the tithes of four parishes, to wit: Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe." H.-P., I, 214. And all the while he was loaning money at a high rate of interest. Everything turned to money in this man's hands. He had a wife and children at Stratford, but he left them to shift for themselves. His father all the last part of his life was in distress for money, but the son for years wasted nothing on him. A very saving man this! He showed himself an unusually capable business man. Some of his admirers have been unable to see how he could have become rich without the apochryphal aid from Lord Southampton, told about by Rowe, at the beginning of the 18th century. According to Rowe, "there is one instance so singular in the magnificence of this patron of Shakespeare's that if I had not been assured that the story was handed down by Sir William D'Avenant, who was

probably very well acquainted with his affairs, I should not have ventured to have inserted; that my Lord Southampton at one time gave him a thousand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to"; and H.-P., I, 147, thinks this purchase must have been New Place, in 1597; and yet he tells us, p. 131, that this property cost Shaksper but £60. As early as 1603, Crosse, in Phillipps' opinion, referred to Shaksper, when he spoke of "these copper-laced gentlemen (who) grow rich, purchase lands by adulterous plays, and not a few of them usurers and extortioners", etc.

In 1602, he had bought 107 acres of land near Stratford. Plainly, he commanded money early in his London career, and there was no need of Southampton's interposing as a *deus ex machina*. D'Avenant gave out that he was a natural son of Shaksper, and was a braggart as well as a blackguard, defiling the name as well as the fame of his own mother. (Both Phillipps and Fleay assert that there was not the least ground for the scandalous story.) Naturally he would make the most of the Southampton chestnut, testifying to the grand society the rich manager mixed in. One thousand pounds in 1596 was equal to \$50,000 to-day. Elizabeth's dissipated nobles had no Golconda behind them; nor Pennsylvania oil-wells, nor Kaffir circles, nor Klondikes, to fill their purses, and did not play at chuck farthing with thousands of pounds. If William Shaksper had been the recipient of so princely a gift, all the town would have rung with it. These things are not done in a corner. There would have been comments on it to suit In-

gleby's book, record of it in the accounts or papers of the Earl of Southampton, mentions of it in the written gossip of the day. There is not merely a total absence of anything of the kind, but a notable lack of mention of a connection of any sort between Shaksper and Southampton.

Halliwell-Phillipps, who was obliged to make a case to fit the personality of William Shaksper, says, I. 113: "It should be remembered that his dramas were not written for posterity, but as a matter of business

. . . his task having been to construct out of certain given or selected materials successful dramas for the audiences of the day."

The task of manager Shaksper, as well as of all managers of that day, was not 'to construct successful dramas', but to find what would suit his or their audiences from whatever sources they were able, and doubtless Shaksper catered to an approving audience. But the Shakespeare plays were written with no such aim as Mr. Phillipps lays claim to. They were written for posterity, and not for the audiences of Elizabeth or James, and not merely to fill the authors' pockets, and the theaters, public or private. As Goethe said, Shakespeare never thought of the stage. Had money been the aim the author of these plays would have gained but a pittance either by their sale* to the theater, or a royalty on their performance. They were not popular, they were beyond the understanding of the people, and appreciation of them was very slow even among the reading and educated classes. It

* From Henslowe's Diary we learn that the price paid by the theater to the author for a play varied from £2 to £7.

is one of the unexplained mysteries that no one seems to have had or exercised any ownership of these plays. Apparently any printer was at liberty to use them as he pleased. There is no evidence that any one ever received one penny of royalty on them or any of them. They were, so far as appears, cast on the waters, and certainly it was not till many days after that they bore fruit.

“The constant thirst that he had for wealth is exhibited by his early acquisition of houses and lands in London and at Stratford; and the firmness of his grip on his accumulations is manifested by the paltry suits he brought to recover debts—one being for thirty-five shillings and tenpence—after he had come to the enjoyment of an income which would now be equal to twenty thousand dollars a year.” Wilkes’, “Shakespeare”.

He carried on the business of money lending both in London and at Stratford. The records of the courts in both places show that he sued his debtors, and got judgment against them. It is to be noted that the suits are always for small sums. He prosecuted Philip Rogers, a Stratford neighbor, for $\text{£}1.15.6$, due for malt sold, and two shillings money loaned; another, John Addenbroke, for $\text{£}6$. for malt. Follows this last suit for a couple of years until he gets the defendant into prison, whence he is bailed by Horneby. The legal proceedings are given in full by Phillipps in both these cases. Shaksper keeps a lawyer, one Thomas Greene, in his house, (*teste* Phillipps), and his name is appended to each of the processes in the Addenbroke suit.

It is pleasant to know that Addenbroke ran away and escaped his tormentor, who however then commenced operations on Horneby. R. G. White says: "These stories grate upon my feelings. . . . The pursuit of an impoverished man for the sake of imprisoning him, and depriving him both of the power of paying his debts, and supporting himself and his family, is an instance in Shakspeare's life which it requires the utmost allowance and consideration for the practice of the time and country to enable us to contemplate with equanimity—satisfaction is impossible".

Is it probable that this man was the Shakespeare of whom Dr. Drake wrote: "No person can study his writings without perceiving that throughout the vast range of being, whatever is lovely and harmonious, whatever is sweet in expression, or graceful in proportion, was constantly present to his mind"? Could that have been the persecutor of poor debtors, the man who kept a lawyer in his house, the rich player and theater-proprietor who brought up his daughters in ignorance, who neglected his distressed father, and forgot his wife when he came to make his Will? Drake had some other man in his mind, I think. Halliwell-Phillipps says: "Until this date (1613), the personal notices of Shaksper which remain to us exhibit him as being very attentive to matters of business, rapidly growing in estate, purchasing farms, houses, and tithes in Stratford, bringing suits for small sums against various persons for malt delivered, money loaned, and the like; carrying on agricultural pursuits and other kinds of traffic, and executing

commissions in London for his Stratford neighbors. The best evidence we can produce exhibits him paying more regard to his solid affairs than to his profession."

"The four years and a half that intervened between the performance of the *Tempest*" (at Blackfriars theater, with which William Shaksper had no concern), "in 1611, and the author's death (1616), could not have been one of his periods of great literary activity. So many of his plays are known to have been in existence at the former date, it follows that there are only six which could by any possibility have been written after that time, and it is not likely that the whole of those belong to so late an era. These facts lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the poet (Shaksper) abandoned literary occupation a considerable period before his decease, and in all probability, when he disposed of his theatrical property." H.-P., I, 232.

Fleay, 67, considers Shaksper's "retirement from the stage in 1610 nearly a certainty". There is no tradition in the twenty-five years of his life in London and the provinces, and the five or six in Stratford after his retirement, that he ever studied one hour, and being the kind of man he was, leading the life he led, he could by no possibility have studied anywhere or at any time. The life of a strolling player, and according to Halliwell-Phillipps, he led that life from the start, and nearly to the end of his connection with the theater, was antagonistic to study, even were there any inclination; while all the facts go to show there was no inclination.

If the player acquired the learning necessary, as he

strolled about the country, and wrote these plays on the tramp, (a proposition too absurd for consideration, one would think, but which nevertheless seems to be confidently entertained by many Shaksperolators), spending the night in his cart, or the next barn, how many vans must have followed the much-studying man, bearing the ponderous tomes ("the ponderous folios so dear to the XVI century" Walter Scott), to be mastered and consulted. *Nearly all of the learning of that day had to be drawn from original sources, for there were no compendiums, no encyclopedias, and almost no translations.* If the tomes were carried, and the player sat up of nights exploring them, composing the plays, and writing them out in his peculiar hieroglyphics, what became of the vast accumulations of books and manuscript; who interpreted the scrawls and transcribed them, and where are the interpreter's testimonies, and the traditions of him and them?

Afterwards, at Stratford, in his retirement, according to Knight, but not according to Phillipps, he wrote plays that "were the result of profound study of the whole range of Roman history including the nice details of Roman manners". The Greek plays show exactly the same profound study of Greek history and manners. Where were the books and proofs of this assertion? There was not a book in William Shaksper's house at his death. As I write, an item is running through the newspapers to the effect that Dr. A. Conan Doyle states, in one of his lectures, that it took one year and a half hard reading of 1,500 books before he was well enough posted in the subject to write it out. And another writer of a popular romance

tells us that before she wrote it, she read a hundred and fifty books to get the necessary history. Yet as much reading and as much study must have been required to enable the author of any one of twenty of the Shakespeare plays to write it, as it cost these recent authors to write their romances, and his difficulties were immeasurably greater than theirs. A trifle that the apologists of the Stratford man have failed to note.

"There is preserved in the College of Arms the draft of a grant for coat-armour to John Shakespere, dated 1596. It may be safely inferred from the unprosperous circumstances of the grantee, that this attempt to confer gentility on the family was made at the poet's expense." H.-P. I, 130. The player's profession prevented any hope of having a grant of this kind made directly to himself. In former times, only the sovereign could make a gentleman, but before Elizabeth's day, the herald king-at-arms had obtained the right. "In our days," says an old writer, "all are accounted gentlemen that have money, and if he has no coat-of-arms, the king-at-arms can sell him one." "It appears that Sir William Dethick, garter king-at-arms, in 1596 and 1599, was subsequently called to account for having granted coats to persons whose station in society and circumstances gave them no right to the distinction. The case of John Shakspere was one of those complained of". Collier, *Life*.

"His (Shaksper's) most notable act was to obtain on two occasions by flagrant fraud with the complicity of the Garter King-at-arms, a gross rascal named John Dethick, a grant of armorial bearings, to which

he had no right whatever, a transaction which caused bitter complaint against the management of the Herald's College, although it refused to confirm Dethick's action in both instances." O'Connor, *Hamlet's Notebook*, 74.

The application of John Shakspeare claimed that his ancestors had been advanced by Henry VII, and that they had received lands in Warwickshire, and that his mother was the daughter of one of the heirs of Robert Arden, Gentleman. All which representations were false, and the application was not granted. "Toward the close of the year 1599, a renewed attempt was made by the poet to obtain a grant of coat-armour for his father. It was now proposed to impale the arms of Shakspeare with those of Arden, and on each occasion ridiculous statements" (which means lying statements) "were made respecting the claims of the family. Both were really descended from obscure country yeomen. But the heralds made out that the predecessors of John Shakspeare were rewarded by the crown for distinguished services, and that his wife's ancestors were entitled to armorial bearings. *Although the poet's relations at a later date assumed the right to the coat suggested for his father, in 1596, it does not appear that either of the proposed grants were ratified by the College, and certainly nothing more is heard of the Arden impalement*". H.-P., I, 178. "The rolls of that reign (Henry VII) have been recently and carefully searched, and the name of Shakespeare, according to any mode of spelling it, does not occur in them." Collier, *Life*, 18.

"If the reader who is curious in such matters will

turn to the drafts of the applicant, that of 1596, on page 56, vol. 2, H.-P., and that of 1599, on page 60, and examine the interlineations that were made from time to time and which are indicated by italics, he will see how the applicant was drawn from falsehood to falsehood to meet the objections which were made against his claims of gentility.

“In the first application, it was stated that it was John Shaksper’s ‘parents and late ancestors’, who rendered valiant service to King Henry VII, and were rewarded by him. This was not deemed sufficiently explicit, and so it was interlined that the said John had married Mary, daughter and one of the heirs of Robert Arden, of Wilmecote, in the said county, Gent. But in the proposed grant of 1599, it is stated that it was John Shakspeare’s grandfather who had rendered these invaluable services to King Henry VII, and, being driven to particulars, we are now told that this grandfather was advanced and rewarded with lands and tenements given him in parts of Warwickshire where they have continued by some descents in good reputation and credit. This is wholesale lying. There were no such lands, and they had not descended by some descents in the family. But this is not all. Finding the application opposed, the fertile Shaksper falls back on a new falsehood, and declares that a coat of arms had already been given his father twenty years before. ‘And he also produces this, his ancient coat of arms, heretofore assigned to him whilst he was her Majesty’s officer and bailiff at that time.’ And White tells us that upon the margin of the draft of 1596, John Shakspeare ‘sheweth a patent thereof under Clar-

ence Cook's hands in paper, twenty years past'. (Life and Genius.) But his patent can no more be found than the land which Henry VII granted, etc. The whole thing was a series of lies and forgeries, a tissue of frauds from beginning to end.' Donnelly, 53.

Richard Grant White says that when he saw the mean house in which John Shaksper lived, "I knew that Shakspeare himself must have felt what a sham was the pretension of gentry set up for his father, when the coat of arms was asked for and obtained by the actor's money from the Herald's College, that coat of arms which Shakspeare prized because it made him a gentleman by birth. This it was more than the squalid appearance of the place which saddened me." *England Without and Within*, 526.

Nevertheless, there is a persistent effort on the part of recent biographers of Shaksper, and of Shakspearean writers, to fix that coat of arms upon the player. Rolfe (*Shakespeare the Boy*) is so enamored of it that he presents it twice on the cover, on back and side; and the *Temple Shakespeare* stamps it on the cover of each volume; Cargill's paper on "*Shakespeare as an Actor*", elsewhere referred to, is prefaced by the same coat of arms; and even Sidney Lee's book, 1898, bears this bogus coat on the cover. Yet the biographers and writers, every one of them, knew and know that the thing is a lie. Look out for frauds wherever William Shaksper is mentioned.

Ratsie said that the player was penurious. As to this feature of his character there is some curious evidence. "In the Chamberlain's accounts of Stratford is found a charge, in 1614, for 'one quart of sack, and

one quart of claret wine, given to a preacher at the New Place' (Shaksper's own house). What manner of man must he have been who would require the town to pay for the wine furnished to his guests?" Donnelly, 57. What would a Virginian think of a man who charged a visiting preacher's whiskey to the county?

He continued to buy and sell land, loan money, prosecute his debtors, collect the tithes, manage his farm, brew beer, and sell malt; and was one of the several parties who were engaged in a conspiracy to force the enclosure of the common land in the vicinity of Stratford; in other words, to rob the poor of their immemorial rights of pasturage. "An attempt is made by W. Combe, the squire of Welcombe, to enclose a large portion of the neighboring common fields; this attempt was opposed by the corporation but was supported by Mainwaring and Shaksper. The latter clearly acted simply with a view to his own personal interest". Fleay, 173.

"It is certain that the poet was in favor of the enclosures, for on Dec. 23rd, 1614, the corporation addressed a letter of remonstrance to him on the subject, and another on the same day to a Mr. Wainwaring. The latter, who had been practically bribed by some land agreements at Welcombe, undertook to protect the interest of Shaksper. So there can be no doubt that the three parties (one Replingham acting with the other two named) were acting in unison." H.-P., I, 247. "Three greedy cormorants combined to rob the people of their ancient rights." Donnelly, 60.

William Shaksper, of Stratford-on-Avon, lived fifty-

two years in Stratford and in London. He is the reputed author of at least thirty-six world famous plays, and half a dozen no less remarkable poems. As his knowledge, if we may judge by these productions, was all-embracing, and his wit and humor superlative, it is to be supposed that his conversation was in keeping. It is also to be supposed that he, when in London, associated with other poets and literary men, who would often have taken notes of his wise and felicitous sayings. It is therefore odd that there should have been found in all the writings of that age—in books, letters, diaries, memoranda—record of but two conversations ever held by any persons with this William Shaksper, and that those should not relate to poetry, the dramatic art, or any kindred matter, even his theater, but simply to the enclosure of the common-land above spoken of? The town clerk of Stratford made the following entry in his record book: "17 Nov., (1614), My cosen Shakespeare comyng yesterday to town, I went to see how he did. He told me that they assured him they ment to inclose noe further than to Gospell Bush and so upp straight (leaving out the part of the Dyngles to the Field) to the Gate in Clopton hedge, and take in Salisburyes peece; and that they mean in April to survey the land, and then to give satisfaction and not before; and he and Mr. Hall say that they think ther will be nothyng done at all." And the further entry, in Sept. 1615: "Mr. Shakespeare telling J. Greene that 'I was not able to bear the enclosing of Welcombe' ". Mr. Phillipps adds, "why the last observation should have been chronicled at all is a mystery."

In the well-known anecdote found written in Manningham's diary, player Shaksper is said to have spoken eight words, to-wit: "William the Conqueror was before Richard 3rd." Which words, with the others heard by the town clerk, are the sum total of the recorded utterances of the "myriad-minded poet and dramatist", if William Shaksper was William Shakespeare!

CHAPTER IX.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE PLAYS.

I have shown the sort of people William Shaksper sprang from, and the sort he associated with in his youth, the sordid environment, the lack of all opportunity for mental improvement, the character of the people he went to, and all the rest of his life associated with, in London, the nature of the public theater and the audiences that frequented it. So far the possibilities of Shaksper having been capable of writing the Shakespeare plays are all against him. I now propose to show by the evidence of the plays themselves that the question of his authorship is not worth one moment's consideration.

What kind of language did young Shaksper use when he reached London, at the age of 22 or 23? It certainly was not English; that he had never learned. He must have spoken the language of his parents and grandparents, of his relations and neighbors, the only language he could have heard since he was born. Mr. Phillipps tells us that nearly every one of the boy's connections was a farmer, and farmers, the world over, use no language other than the language of the soil. That, in the present case, was the Warwickshire dialect, and it was in great degree unintelligible to the

inhabitants of other counties.* "The members of Elizabeth's Parliament could not comprehend each other. When the soldiers Elizabeth summoned were grouped about the camp, they could not understand a word of command unless given by officers from their own shire." Morgan.

Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* I, 298, describing the English country gentlemen of the time of the accession of William III, said: "His language and pronunciation were such as we should now expect to have only from the most ignorant clowns. His oaths, coarse jests and scurrilous terms of abuse were uttered with the broadest accent of his province. It was easy to discern, from the first words which he spoke, whether he came from Somersetshire or Yorkshire". This was a full hundred years after William Shaksper carried his patois to London.

And of this patois, what would be the extent of the young man's vocabulary? Certainly not more than

* Morgan gives some pages of eighteenth century Warwickshire patois, in part as follows:

Old man: (meeting lad with fishing pole on his way to the Avon) "'E waund thu bist agwain fishun?"

Lad: "Yus, gaffer, E be gwan pint umbit."

Old man: "'Oy Breckling, E 'ad gist spurt times. Thee mindst Red-nob, doesn't? Ah, thee shoodst sin un, reklin, when Lard Coventry come age, when Brud Strit long o' Pashaws wuz a chock tables un foolks sittin down dinner at un and cad-dle enow to phaze divil 'imself!" etc., etc.

The patois two hundred years earlier, in the days of Shaksper, must have been by many degrees more barbarous than the sample here given. Truly, a fine equipment for a young man ambitious for literary honors, coming to London at the age of 22!

four or five hundred words, at the outside. The first thing he had to do was to divest himself of the patois and begin to learn English. Max Muller in "Science of Language", says: "We are told by a country clergyman that some of the laborers in his parish had not three hundred words in their vocabulary. A well educated person in England, who has been at a public school, and at the university, who reads the Bible, the Times, and all the books of Mudie's Library, seldom uses more than 3,000 words in actual conversation. Accurate thinkers and close reasoners . . . seldom employ a larger stock, and eloquent speakers may rise to the command of 10,000. Shakespeare, who displayed a greater variety of expression than probably any writer in any and all languages, produced all his plays with about 15,000 words. Milton's works were built up with 8,000." In a course of three lectures delivered at Oxford, and reprinted at Chicago, Professor Muller said: "Few of us use more than 3,000 or 4,000 words; Shakespeare used about 15,000." Craik estimates the Shakespeare vocabulary (poems and plays) at 21,000 words, and Clark agrees with Craik, as also does Meiklejohn.

This extraordinary vocabulary seems entirely too great for one individual, and hence it has been argued that this alone is enough to show that several hands took part in the Shakespeare plays. Thus Stotsenburg, Indianapolis News, 5th May, 1897, says: "Such voluminous and learned writers as Thackeray or Dickens (or Fiske) do not use over 5,000 words. John Milton surpassed all other writers as to word use by stretching the number to seven thousand. Presump-

tively, therefore, if the writers of the plays were as prolific in words as Milton, there were three of them at least. If judged by the Thackeray standard there were not less than four''. Inasmuch as, with four writers as prolific in words as Thackeray, one-half the words in their respective vocabularies would be identical, there would be required eight such writers to make up one vocabulary as extensive as "Shakespeare's". This agrees with T. W. White's estimate. He assigns certain of the plays to Greene, Marlowe, Peele, Nash, Lodge, Chapman, Daniel and Bacon. Stotsenburg finds positive evidence that the Sonnets were written by Sidney, and the Venus and Lucrece by Marlowe. The vocabulary of Shakespeare from this point of view is not unreasonable.

Marsh, Lectures on the Eng. Language, 182, says: "If a scholar were to be required to name without examination, the authors whose English vocabulary was the largest, he probably would specify the all-embracing Shakespeare, and the all-knowing Milton. And yet, in all the works of the great dramatist there occur not more than 15,000 words, in the poems of Milton not more than 8,000."

The English language of to-day is comparatively settled, but in the time of Elizabeth, the number of words was small—the language was in process of making. The great writers, Bacon, Spenser, Hooker, the author or authors of the Shakespeare poems and plays, and others, were compelled to coin multitudes of new words from Latin and Greek; from French and other modern languages; but above all from Latin, to give expression to their thoughts; and thus, within a few

years, an enormous number of new words were brought into the language. Dr. Johnson says that from the works of Bacon alone a dictionary of the English language could be compiled.

[Donnelly says: "Even as this book is being printed, a writer in the Chicago Tribune calls attention to the surprising fact that the New English Dictionary now being published in England, and in which is given the time and the place when and where each English word made its first appearance, proves that in the first two hundred pages of the work there are 146 words, now in common use, which were invented, or formed out of the raw materials of his own and other languages, by the man who wrote the Shakespeare plays. And the writer shows that at this rate our total indebtedness to the man we call Shakespeare for additions to the vocabulary of the English tongue would be not less than 5,000 words. We owe to the poet the first use of the word *air* in one of its senses as a noun, and three as a verb or participle. He first said *air-drawn*, and *airless*. He added a new significance to *airy* and *aerial*. Nobody before him had written *aired*. . . . In no previous writer have Dr. Murray's argus eyes detected *accidentally*, nor any of the following: *abjectly*, *acutely*, *admiringly*, *adoptedly*, *adversely*. To *absolutely*, *accordingly*, *actively* and *affectionately*, 'Shakespeare' added a new sense. It is not a little surprising that the word *abreast* was never printed before the couplet:

'My soul shall thine keep company in heaven;
Tarry, sweet soul, for mine, then fly abreast.'

Of the words and meanings first given by Shakespeare, at least two-thirds are of classic origin.”]

How came the untaught William Shaksper by the extraordinary and prodigious vocabulary exhibited in the Shakespeare plays?

Macaulay (Essay on Dryden) tells us that, “Genius will not furnish the poet with a vocabulary; it will not teach him what word exactly corresponds to his idea, and will most fully convey it to others. Information and experience are necessary; not for the purpose of strengthening the imagination, which is never so strong as in people incapable of reasoning—savages, children, etc.; but for the purpose of enabling the artist to communicate his conceptions to others. . . . Should a man, gifted by nature with all the genius of Canova, attempt to carve a statue without instruction as to the management of his chisel, or attention to the anatomy of the human body, he would produce something compared with which the Highlander at the door of the snuff-shop would deserve admiration. If an uninitiated Raphael were to attempt a painting, it would be a mere daub.”

I asked a Professor of Rhetoric in one of our great Western universities what he considered the extent of the vocabulary of a laborer or small farmer in his region. He replied, “From 250 to 400 words, according to his location.”

I asked another Professor of Rhetoric, this time in one of the Eastern universities, who had for many years taught Latin and Greek, what course he would advise a young man of limited opportunities in his early years to pursue in order to attain a fairly copi-

ous vocabulary; not telling him however that the youth I had in mind was one William Shaksper. He laid me out a course that would require hard study for years, and practice; reading especially and always the Bible; the best prose authors and poets, *above all Shakespeare*; translating English into Latin, and re-translating in English. "Practice is the greatest thing, *versate manu diu nocteque*". Above all (the best poets and prose writers) Shakespeare! Study him, young man, if you wish to enlarge your vocabulary, and learn what the English language is capable of!

Hartley Coleridge, in his life of Massinger, says of that poet: "His classical allusions are frequent, but not like those of Ben Jonson, recondite, nor like those of Shakespeare and of Milton, amalgamated and con-substantiated with his native thought."

That is to say, Hartley Coleridge, a competent judge of education and literary attainments, ranks the author of the Shakespeare plays with Milton for profundity of classical learning, and both above the learned Jonson. There is as clear evidence of classical learning in *Titus Andronicus*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and many other plays, as in Milton's *Lycidas*.

"The marvelous accuracy, the real substantial learning, of the three Roman plays of Shakespeare present the most complete evidence to our mind that they were the results of profound study of the whole range of Roman history, including the nice details of Roman manners, *not in those days to be acquired in a compendious*

form, but to be brought out by diligent reading alone." Knight, 528.

"In his Roman plays he appears co-existent with his wonderful characters, and to have read all the obscure pages of Roman history with a clearer eye than philosopher or historian. When he employed Latinisms in the construction of his sentences and even in the creation of new words, he does so with singular facility and unerring correctness". Id., l. c. Any one who has studied an ancient language knows that years of hard work were passed before such language became "amalgamated and consubstantiated with his native thought", if it ever did (and in most cases it did not); that is, became to him as his native tongue. Every Professor and every educated man will agree to this in the case of John Robinson. The circumstances were far more adverse in the day of William Shaksper.

Trench, "On the Study of Words", Lecture IV, says: "We must not omit him who is a maker (of words) by the very right of his name—I mean the poet. . . . The passion of such times, the all-fusing imagination, will at once suggest and justify audacities in speech upon which in calmer moods he would not venture, or if he ventured would fail to carry others with him; for only the fluent metal runs easily into novel shapes and moulds. . . . He will enrich his native tongue with words unknown and non-existent before—non-existent, that is, save in their elements; for in the historic period of a language *it is not permitted to any man to bring new roots into it, but only to work on already given materials; to evolve*

what is latent therein, to combine what is apart, to recall what has fallen out of sight. The more deliberate coining of words will often find place for the supplying of discovered deficiencies in a language. The manner in which men become aware of such deficiencies is *through comparison of their own language with another and a richer*, a comparison which is forced upon them, so that they cannot put it by, when it becomes necessary for them to express in their own tongue that which has already found utterance in another, and so has shown that it is utterable in human speech. Without such a comparison the existence of the want would probably have seldom dawned on the most thoughtful”.

On the same matter, in Lecture V, this writer says: “One of the arts of a great poet or prose writer who wishes to add emphasis to his style, to bring out all the latent forces of his native tongue, *will very often be to reconnect by his use of it a word with its original derivation*. How often Milton does this!” Dr. Trench might have coupled Shakespeare with Milton here, for the allegation is as true of one as of the other. The habitual coining of words from the Latin by an English writer, according to this author, is the evidence of a thorough knowledge of and familiarity with Latin. He has “to work on already given materials to evolve what is latent therein,” etc., etc. How could Shakespeare have compared his language with the other and richer one had he not been profoundly acquainted with the latter through study of books?

Hallam, Lit. Eur., speaking of “the phrases unintelligible and improper except in the case of their

primitive roots which occur so copiously in the (Shakespeare) plays," says: "In the *Midsummer Night's Dream* these are much less frequent than in his later dramas, but here we find several instances, thus: 'things base and vile, holding no *quantity*, for value'; rivers 'that have overborne their *continents*,' the *continente riva* of Horace; '*compact* of imagination'; 'something of great *constancy*,' for consistency; 'sweet Pyramus *translated* there'; 'the laws of Athens, which by no means we may *extenuate*'. I have considerable doubt whether any of these expressions would be found in any of the contemporary prose of Elizabeth's reign; but could authority be produced for Latinisms so forced, it is still not very likely that one who did not understand their proper meaning would have introduced them into poetry."

Charles Knight, speaking of Shakespeare's use of the word *expedient*, says: "The word properly means 'that disengages itself from all entanglements'. To set at liberty the foot which was held fast is *exped-ire*. *Shakespeare always uses this word in strict accordance with its derivation, as in truth he does most words which may be called learned.*

Judge Holmes, 690, says: "Upon the word *premised*, Theobald made the observation that Shakespeare is very peculiar in his adjectives; and it is much in his manner to use the words borrowed from the Latin closer to their original signification than they were vulgarly used in; so here he uses *premised* in the sense of the word from which it is derived, *praemissus*, that is, sent before. This is the use of a writer whose mind is so thoroughly imbued with the Latin lan-

guage that he unconsciously incorporates it into his English''.

Dr. Baynes, *Shakespeare Studies*, 225, says of Touchstone's words to Audrey, "I am here with thee and thy goats as the most *capricious* poet Ovid was among the Goths". Ovid was among the Goths (Gotes, the Getae, a Thracian tribe among whom Ovid in his banishment, dwelt). That "the epithet 'capricious' (*caper*, a goat) in this speech is a good example of the subtle playing with words, the skillful suggestion of double meanings of which Shakespeare in common with Ovid, is so fond."

Dr. W. Theobald, *Baconiana*, 2, 453, says: "When the author of the Shakespeare plays wrote

While that the coulter rusts
That should deracinate such savagery—

the coining of the new word *deracinate* (to tear up by the roots) is evidence of his thorough familiarity with the Latin tongue. And there are hundreds and hundreds of words like that coined by him."

In Act V, scene 1, Henry VI, Part 1, King Henry says:

For I always thought
It was both impious and unnatural
That such *immanity* and bloody strife
Should reign among professors of one faith.

And in scene 3, Joan says:

The Regent conquers and the Frenchman flies—
Now help me charming spells, and *periapts*.

Now these words "immanity", and "periapt", if

they stood alone, instead of being examples of a numerous class of words in the plays, would prove that the author was perfectly familiar with both Latin and Greek. '*Immanitas*' is a Latin word, used by Cicero (meaning barbarity, cruelty), but certainly one which no Englishman not a good Latin scholar would dream of using; and the word '*periapt*' is equally significant of a good knowledge of Greek, being directly derived from the Greek word *periapto*, to tie around some part of the body. Words of this class, or English words used in a classical sense, are numerous in the plays, and prove even more directly than classical references that the author was a profound classical scholar, as he never could have acquired them by the use of translations, but only through his own familiarity with the classical language.

In Baconiana, VI, are further illustrations by Dr. Theobald:

"With *cadent* tears fret channels in her cheeks".

Lear, I, 4, 307.

from *cado*, to fall.

A very curious piece of Latinity occurs in Helen's allusion to her hopeless love for Bertram:

I know I love in vain . . .
Yet in this *captious* and *intenable* sieve,
I still pour in the waters of my love.

All's Well, I, 3, 207.

Captious has the meaning of the word *capio*, I take or receive. Intenable represents the word *tenio*, I hold, with the privative participle *in*, i. e., I do not hold.

The frozen regions of the Alps
Or any other ground *inhabitable*.

Richard II, I, I, 64.

Inhabitable, *unhabitable*. The word is used in the Latin sense, which is exactly the reverse of the current sense.

Oppugnancy, *pro-pugnation*, *repugn*, with the cognate words *repugnancy*, and *repugnant*. These words are all used by Shakespeare in their strictest classical sense, and they show in a very striking way the discriminating accuracy of his classical diction.

. . . What discord follows: each thing meets
In mere *oppugnancy*, (active and offensive warfare).

Troilus and Cressida, I, 3, 119.

"What *propugnation* is in one man's valor", etc. I. c.

II, 2, 136.

(defensive warfare). What possible defense can one man, however brave, afford?

. . . Sleep upon it
And let the foes quietly cut their throats
Without *repugnancy*.

Timon, III, 5, 42.

Repugno, passive resistance.

Double is an English word used in a classic sense:—

The magnifico . . . hath in his effect a voice potential,
As *double* as the duke's.

Othello, I, 3, 12.

The Latin word to double, *duplex*, may also mean thick, stout, strong, and this is the meaning in the passage quoted. In Coriolanus, II, 3, 121:

His *doubled* spirit requicken'd what in flesh was *fatigate*,

i. e., his strong and invincible spirit, etc. . . .
Fatigue is the Latin *fatigatus*.

And bowed his *eminent* top to their low rank.

All's Well, I, 2, 41.

The Latin word *emineo*, to jut out, to project. It is a word of measurement, not simply an expression of renown.

She doth *evitate* and show a thousand irreligious, cursed horns.

Merry Wives, V. 5, 241.

The Latin word *evitare*, to avoid.

The word *stelled* is used with two absolutely distinct meanings, neither of them English, one Latin, the other Greek. The Latin sense is related to the word *stella*, a star or constellation. Of Lear, in the Tempest, it is said:

The Sea, with such a storm as his bare head

In hell black night endured, would have buoyed up,

And quenched the *stelled* fires.

The other sense is from the Greek word *stello*, meaning to fix, set in its place. It occurs twice, first in the 24th Sonnet:

My eye hath played the painter and hath *stelled*

Thy beauty's form in the table of my heart.

The other in Lucrece (1443):

To this well painted piece is Lucrece come

To find a face where all distress is *stelled*.

A very curious word is *constringed*, which occurs once only:

"The dreadful spirit which shipmen do the hurricane call, *constringed* in mass by the Almighty Sun."

Troilus and Cres., VII, 171.

The word is Latin. *Constringo* means "bind together", "tie up like a bundle", and so, metaphorically, "give coherence or consistence".

"*Simular* is not English, but Shakespeare uses it:

Thou perjured and thou *simular* man of virtue,

Thou art incestuous. Lear, III, 2, 51.

Simulo is Latin, meaning to copy, or imitate, counterfeit, feign. Simular man of virtue, therefore, means a man whose virtue is sham or counterfeit.

The word *speculation* in English refers to mental operation, not eyesight. Shakespeare always, and Bacon often, uses it in the physical sense, outward light, not inward vision:

Thou hast no *speculation* in those eyes,

Which thou dost glare with.

Macbeth, III, 4, 95.

Such *ex-sufflicate* and blown surmises.

Othello, III, 3, 182.

The Latin words *ex* and *sufflo*, to blow out. It means inflated, wind-bags, bubbles."

“A good many instances of classic construction in the grammar of the sentences are to be found—sentences cast into grammatical form not strictly English, which can not well be parsed without the help of the Latin grammar. Dr. Abbot, in his learned and exhaustive ‘Shakespeare Grammar’, gives many illustrations of this”;

Mr. Theobald closes his paper thus: "Here, then, are some thirty words out of a collection of more than 250, showing that Latin was a step-mother tongue to the poet; he had probably been accustomed to use it as an instrument of expression, and the arts and fragments of it were perpetually scattered in his English composition. . . . If the writer was so familiar with the classic languages as to have all the literature of Greece and Rome at his command—if Latin was so familiar to him that it obtruded itself upon his English, and made him talk and write with a foreign (classic) accent, he could not have been such a man as William Shaksper was."

One thing is puzzling: William Shaksper is declared by Fiske and others to have written the plays to fill his theater; and we are told by all his biographers that the audiences were made up of illiterate persons. How much then could this rabble have comprehended? What idea did they attach, for example, to "deracinating savagery"; to "incarnadining the multitudinous seas"; to the apostrophizing of "peri-aps"; to a "captious and intenible sieve"; or "ex-sufflicate surmises"? How much of his fifteen to twenty-one thousand vocabulary was comprehended by individuals whose requirements and attainments were restricted to three or four hundred words? Very little indeed, I should say. Would not the unknown language of the plays have bewildered and disgusted the stinkards and prostitutes who made up the bulk of the audience; and would they not, at times, in their fury, have given the players a hiding?

The rustic Shaksper comes to London with what ac-

complishments we have seen—almost devoid of polished accomplishments, Halliwell-Phillipps says—speaking the patois of his neighborhood, quite uninstructed in English; (had he even gone to school, in Stratford, he would have been taught Latin but not English), finds employment, at first outside the theater, then as a servitour inside; is in time admitted to the company of players, and what sort of men they were morally and intellectually, we have seen; works his way up, and in a few years becomes part proprietor in the theater, and is on the road to secure a money competence. In the summer and autumn, he and the rest of the company stroll all over England, even into Scotland; in the winter they gather at the Curtain or the Globe. Five or six years after this youth leaves Stratford, there come from the press two poems, bearing on their title pages the name of “William Shakespeare”, a name this players family, in all its generations and branches, had never borne; which poems were and are to-day unsurpassed in the language for choice diction, and showed that the author was possessed of a thorough knowledge of English and familiarity with Latin. The poems were both preceded and followed by a series of plays which discovered a vocabulary in extent exceeding that used by any previous poet or prose writer; a large number of words coined directly from the Latin or Greek roots, or from French, Spanish, Italian. The plots of these plays, many of them, were taken from Spanish and Italian stories, then untranslated into English. Is it probable, is it possible, that all this wealth of literature was created by the raw uneducated youth

who began his literary life at the theater door? The writer of the poems and plays, as they themselves give evidence, was most thoroughly educated, and was, from the issuing of the first play, a past-master of the English language. Prof. George L. Craik says: "In whose handling was language ever such a flame of fire as it is in his? His wonderful potency in the use of this instrument would alone set him above all other writers."

This is the testimony of scholars. Emerson tells us that: "He of all men, best understood the English language."

Prof. N. G. Clark, (Elements of the English Language) says: "The great number of words which he employs are never used carelessly; they are always the fit words, and can rarely be changed for others as expressive in their place." . . . "His power lay not simply in the extent of his vocabulary, needful as this was to his purpose, but in the skillful combination and power of the words he employed. . . . It is not too much to say, that English speech as well as literature owes more to him than to any other man. . . . Not unwisely has the student been referred to Shakespeare next to the authorized version of the Bible for the best studies in the use of his native tongue."

Mrs. Cowden Clark begins her Shakespeare Key:

"Never was an author who combined so many different words in his single writings, and not only used so many different words, but so many varied forms of words as Shakespeare; never was author who comprised so many different phrases and sentences," etc.

Professor J. M. D. Meiklejohn, in his *English Literature*, p. 372, says: "It is not sufficient to say that Shakespeare's power of thought, of feeling, and of expression, required three times the number of words" (that Milton used) "to express itself; we must also say that Shakespeare's power of expression shows infinitely greater skill, subtlety and cunning than is to be found in the works of Milton. Shakespeare had also a marvellous power of making new phrases, most of which have become part and parcel of our language," etc.

Ruggles says: "This poet was evidently a great worker in words. He had dominion over every form of expression, understood the dramatic effect and moral force of each different turn of phrase, and ran his thoughts into any mould he pleased, and that too without loss of grace and felicity of expression. . . . Prominent skill belongs to the writer of these plays, who, in addition to the poet's song, and the philosopher's insight, possessed an ingenuity in the use of language so extraordinary as to make every word contribute to the main effect."

George P. Marsh speaks of the "Bible, Shakespeare, and Milton," as "the three lodestars that held the language firm, without whom it would probably before our time have become rather Romance than Gothic in its vocabulary."

Craig says of Shakespeare: "He has exhausted the old world of our actual experience. . . . The men and the manners of all countries and of all ages are there; the lovers and warriors, the priests and prophetesses, of the old heroic and kingly times of

Greece—the Athenians of the days of Pericles and Alcibiades,—the proud patricians and turbulent commonalty of the earliest period of Republican Rome,—Caesar, and Brutus, and Cassius, and Antony, and Cleopatra, and the other splendid figures of that later Roman scene—the kings, and queens, and princes, and courtiers of barbaric Denmark, and Roman Britain, and Britain before the Romans,—those of Scotland in the time of the English Heptarchy,—those of England and France at the era of Magna Charta,—all ranks of the people in almost every reign of our subsequent history from the end of the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century,—not to speak of Venice, and Verona, and Mantua, and Padua, and Illyria, and Navarre, and the Forest of Arden, and all the other towns and lands which he has peopled for us with their most real inhabitants.” These quotations from eminent authors fully sustain my position.

Nevertheless, Prof. John Fiske, in a paper in the *Atlantic Monthly*, entitled “Forty Years of the Bacon-Shakespeare Folly” meets the proposition that the dramas ascribed to Shakespeare “abound in evidences of extraordinary book learning” with “a flat denial”. He thinks Shakespeare possessed “an extraordinary instinctive power of observation and assimilation;” that he learned desirable things “in the country town quite outside of books and pedagogues;” and picked up knowledge and wisdom from the cultured, learned, traveled and wise people he met and associated with in London. It strikes me that the claim that he “who best understood the language”, he to whom “the English language was more than to other men” was not

book learned, and that his proficiency was gained by what he could pick up on the streets of London, or in his evenings at a tavern, or when on the tramp, is unreasonable. To say that a man who was a great worker in words, and who had supreme dominion over every form of expression—whose power of expression shows infinitely greater skill, subtlety and cunning than does Milton—who has portrayed in his writings the men and manners of all countries and all ages,—gained his knowledge and accomplishments when leading the life of a vagabond, is absurd. To say that the works written by this man, who was one of the three great lodestars that held the English language firm, the other two being Milton and the Bible, show no evidence of extraordinary book learning, is preposterous. Mr. Fiske's flat denial makes it evident that he has not studied his subject.

Any Professor of Language or Rhetoric knows and will testify, that in the case of John Brown, such an amazing proficiency would argue ancestral predisposition, felicitous surroundings from babyhood, early and the best instruction, constant association with cultivated and learned persons, and unceasing study from youth to manhood, and to middle age. And there is not a Professor but will declare that illiterate or semi-educated John Jones, coming to the city at the age of 22 or 23, could by no possibility attain full command of English, to say nothing of any classic or modern language, within seven or seventeen years, if he gave every moment of his life to it. How many persons have thought of the labor and practice that would be required to bring the vocabulary of even an

educated man to-day up by 1000 words, with all the modern aids of dictionaries, and other special works on language; and 2000 words would be "as the square of the distance." When it comes to 21000 words, as Craik gives the Shakespeare total, it is frightful. The labors of Hercules were nothing to such a task. That vocabulary should be decisive, as to the claims of William Shaksper.*

It must be born in mind that there were no public libraries in those days. As to private ones: "Anything like a private library, even of the smallest dimensions, was then of the rarest occurrence, and that Shaksperc ever owned one, at any time in his life, is exceedingly improbable." Wilder, 91.

Books were cumbrous and costly, and prices made them beyond the reach of any but the rich. There were no encyclopedias, no dictionaries, no magazines, no newspapers, no English literature. "All the valu-

* Wendell, 196, accounts for the Shakespeare vocabulary after this fashion: "From the beginning of Elizabethan literature, whoever had written had been constantly playing on words and with them (as in the badinage between Benedick and Beatrice). Fantastically extravagant as such verbal quibbles generally were, *they resulted in unsurpassed mastery of the vocabulary*. Combine such mastery of the vocabulary with an instinctive sense that words are only symbols of actual thoughts, and the quibbler or punster becomes a wit of the first quality. We have seen that such a sense of the identity of word and thought characterizes Shakespeare from the beginning." It is clear as crystal therefore where the butcher's boy got his 21,000 vocabulary; first a punster, second a quibbler, third had acquired during his apprenticeship an instinctive sense that words are only symbols of thought; and now we can comprehend how the milk came to be in the cocoa-nut.

able books then extant in all the vernacular languages of Europe would hardly have filled a single shelf. . . . It was therefore absolutely necessary that a man should be uneducated or classically educated. . . . The Latin was in the 16th century all and more than the French was in the 18th." Macaulay's *Essay on Bacon*.

I offer a third argument as decisive as the others. How much of an acquaintance with the Bible could the boy and youth up to his hegira have had? "The Bible most commonly used during that period was either Parkers, called also the Bishop's Bible, of 1568, required to be used in the churches; or various reprints of the German Bible of 1560, with short marginal notes, and much used in private families." Wordsworth's *Shakespeare and The Bible*, p. 9. Neither of these Bibles was in his father's house, nor had he ever heard the Bible read there, for nobody there could read, and moreover none of his relations could read. Besides, according to Halliwell-Phillipps, "there is no doubt that John Shakspeare was one of the many . . . who were secretly attached to the Catholic religion:" and, again, "there is no doubt that John Shakspeare nourished all the while a latent attachment for the old religion." I, 164. And "the local tradition in the latter part of the 17th century" was, that William Shaksper, as asserted by Vicar Davies, of Stratford-on-Avon, within fifty years after Shaksper's death, "died a papist". Mr. Phillipps fully credits this last fact. Now, Catholic families of that age could not abide the English Bible, as the

world knows. It is safe to conclude that the boy William never looked between the covers of any sort of Bible, and never heard the reading from a Bible unless he occasionally went to Stratford church, and that player Shaksper saw no more of the Bible than the boy had done. After reaching London he had his work cut out for him, and his time was employed in the service of the theatrical company, he striving with all his might to reach a good position, and to make money. This is evident because he became in due time part owner of the theater, and made a great fortune. That he had in London no more respect for the seventh commandment than he had in Stratford is plain from the story told by Manningham and hereinafter recited; and a man who spends his life in catering to the scum of London is not to be supposed to be spending his nights poring over the Bible, or over classical literature. Bishop Charles Wordsworth) has written a book of 400 pages to show that "of all the books which Shakespeare studied in his own language, there was none with which he was more familiar than the English Bible". p. 349. "Shakespeare has been indebted to Holy Writ, not only for poetical diction and sentiment, but for some of the most striking and sublime images which are to be found in his works." p. 310. He devotes 45 pages to an examination of the plays under the heading "Shakespeare's Facts and Characters of the Bible"; and 209 pages to Shakespeare's Principles and Sentiments derived from the Bible." This last named chapter begins thus: "I am

to show how scriptural, and consequently, how just and true, are the conceptions which Shakespeare entertained for the being and attributes of God, of his general and particular providence, of His revelation to men, of our duty towards Him and towards each other, of human life and of human death, of time and eternity—in a word, of every subject which it most concerns us as rational and responsible beings to conceive aright;” and it is surprising how all these propositions are substantiated by an analysis of the plays. Thirty-three pages are given to the investigation “Of the Poetry of Shakespeare as derived from the Bible”. On p. 345: “Take the entire range of English Literature, put together our best authors, who have written upon subjects not professedly religious or theological, and we shall not find, I believe, so much evidence of the Bible having been read and used, as we have found in Shakespeare alone.” On p. 355: “There is nothing of a literary kind for which we have greater reason to thank the Giver of all Good, than for a large proportion of these works, excepting only the Book of Common Prayer, and that, which has imparted alike to it and to them no small share of the surpassing excellence, which, though in very different ways, they both possess—His incomparable, most holy everlasting Word.”

On p. 353, is quoted Mrs. Montague’s remark, that “we are apt to consider Shakespeare only as a poet; but he is certainly one of the greatest moral philosophers that ever lived”; and, adds the Bishop: “Whence did he become so? I answer without hesitation . . .

he drew his philosophy from the highest and purest source of Moral truth." *

Every clergyman knows what is implied by an intimate knowledge of the Bible; a religious family, early instruction, a reverent disposition, and a fixed habit of reading and study. A jury of clergymen would certainly find against claimant William Shaksper. Indeed, this matter of knowledge of the Bible is a crucial test. The author of the Shakespeare plays, whoever he was, was brought up by religious and Protestant parents, and studied the Bible both in youth and manhood. The language of the Bible was as truly amalgamated and consubstantiated with his native thought as was the Latin language. Surely he was at the antipodes from player Shaksper.

We have seen therefore that by no possibility could the player have given his time to money-making as a result of his devotion to his theatrical duties, vagabondizing about the country the greater part of the year, and at the same time labored day and night to acquire a vast vocabulary, labored to "amalgamate classical allusions with his native thought", besides

* Drake has said, in 1817, of the author of the Shakespeare plays: "That in a religious point of view, he had a claim to the enjoyment (of peace and sunshine of the soul), the numerous passages in his works, which breathe a spirit of pious gratitude and devotional rapture, will sufficiently declare. In fact, upon the topic of religious as well as ethic wisdom, no profane poet can furnish us with a greater number of just and luminous aphorisms; passages which dwell upon the heart and reach the soul, for they have issued from lips of fire, from conceptions worthy of a superior nature, from feelings solemn and un-earthly."

the acquisition of several modern languages, and on the top of all, pass the same day and night over the Bible.

What was the learning in the law of the author of these plays? That he was a professional lawyer, all lawyers are agreed. Richard Grant White, himself a lawyer, in the *Memoirs*, says: "To play-writing the needy and gifted young lawyer turned his hand at that day as he does now to journalism. . . . To what are we to attribute the fact that of all the plays that have survived of those written between 1580 and 1620, Shakespeare's are most noteworthy in this respect? For no dramatist of the time, not even Beaumont, who was a younger son of a judge of the Common Pleas, and who, after studying in the Inns of court, abandoned law for the drama, used legal phrases with Shakespeare's readiness and exactness. And the significance of this fact is heightened by another,—that it is only to the language of the law that he exhibits this inclination. . . . Legal phrases flow from his pen as part of his vocabulary and parcel of his thought. . . . It has been suggested that it was in attendance upon the courts in London* that he picked up his legal vocabulary. But this supposition not only fails to account for Shakespeare's peculiar freedom and exactness in the use of that phraseology—it does not even place him in the way of learning those terms his use of which is most remarkable,

* Worse than that! Mr. Sidney Lee, 32, thinks that Shaksper's accurate use of legal terms may be attributed in part to his observation of the many legal processes in which his father was involved!

which are not such as he would have heard at ordinary proceedings at *nisi prius*, but such as refer to the tenure or transfer of real property,—‘fine and recovery’, ‘statutes merchant’, ‘purchase’, ‘indenture’, ‘tenure’, ‘double voucher’, ‘fee simple’, ‘fee farm’, ‘remainder’, ‘reversion’, ‘forfeiture’, etc. This conveyancer’s jargon could not have been picked up by hanging round the courts of law in London two hundred and fifty years ago, when suits as to the title of real property were comparatively rare. And beside, Shakespeare uses his law just as freely in his first plays, written in his first London years, as in those produced at a later period. Just as exactly, too; for the correctness and propriety with which these terms are introduced have compelled the admiration of a Chief Justice and a Lord Chancellor.”

On the other hand, Dr. Wallace, who is distinguished as a scientist, but is not a lawyer, conceived that “the law courts of Westminster would offer ample opportunities for extending that knowledge of law terms and legal processes which he had probably begun to acquire by means of justices’ sessions and coroners’ inquests in his native town”. Lord Campbell would not seem to have had so high an opinion of justices’ sessions in, or in the vicinity of, Stratford, as has Dr. Wallace, inasmuch as he suggests that “the characters of Dogberry and Verges, though apparently meant to satirize the constables, were possibly aimed as high as Chairman at Quarter Sessions, and even Judges of Assize, with whose performances he (Shaksper) may probably have become acquainted at Warwick or elsewhere.”

In the same way, Dr. John Fiske, a literary man simply, claims that "the legal knowledge exhibited in the plays is no more than might readily have been acquired by a man of assimilative genius associating with lawyers." But a knowledge of law terms and legal processes is not thus to be picked up, parrot-like. Lord Campbell, "Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements", New York, 1859, tells us: "There is nothing so dangerous as for one not of the craft to tamper with our freemasonry." Also: "Let a non-professional man, however acute, presume to talk law, or to draw illustrations from legal science in discussing other subjects, and he will speedily fall into some laughable absurdity." A paragraph which I commend to Mr. Fiske's attention, if he is ever tempted to put to the test his theory of the readiness with which he could discourse on law, or write on law cases, if he had the mind to. Lord Campbell proceeds: "These jests—(Comedy of Errors)—show the author to be very familiar with some of the most abstruse proceedings in English Jurisdiction." "We find in several of the histories Shakspeare's fondness for law terms, and it is still more remarkable that *whenever he indulges this propensity he uniformly lays down good law.*" "The indictment in which Lord Say was arraigned in Act IV, scene 7, 2nd Henry VI, seems drawn by no inexperienced hand. . . . It is quite certain that the drawer of this indictment must have had some acquaintance with the 'Crown Circuit Companion', and must have had a full and accurate knowledge of that rather obscure and intricate subject, 'Felony and Benefit of Clergy'." "While novelists and dramatists are

constantly making mistakes as to the laws of marriage, of wills and inheritance, to Shakespeare's law, lavishly as he expounds it, there can neither be demurrer, nor bill of exceptions, nor writ of error." p. 154.

Again, he quotes in full the 46th Sonnet and says: "I need not go further than this sonnet, which is so intensely legal in its language and imagery, that without a considerable knowledge of English forensic procedure it cannot be fully understood. A lover being supposed to have made a *conquest* of (*i. e.*, to have gained by *purchase*) his mistress, his EYE and his HEART holding as joint tenants, have a contest as to how she is to be partitioned between them—each moiety then to be held in severalty. There are regular pleadings in the suit, the HEART being represented as Plaintiff and the EYE as Defendant. At last, issue is joined on what the one affirms and the other denies. Now a jury, (in the nature of an inquest) is to be empanelled to decide, and by their verdict to apportion between the litigating parties the subject-matter to be decided. The jury fortunately are unanimous, and after due deliberation, find for the EYE in respect of the lady's outward form, and for the HEART in respect of her inward love. Surely Sonnet 46 smells as potently of the attorney's office as any of the stanzas penned by Lord Kenyon while an attorney's clerk in Wales".

Lord Campbell surmised that the young Shaksper might have been an attorney's clerk up to the time he fled to London. "Great as is the knowledge of law which Shakespeare's writings display, and familiar as he appears to have been with all its forms and pro-

ceedings, the whole of this would be accounted for if for some years he had occupied a desk in the office of a country attorney in good business—attending sessions and assizes—keeping leets and law days—and perhaps being sent up to the metropolis in term time to conduct suits before the Lord Chancellor, or the Superior Courts at Westminster.” But, he suggests, if this were so, “positive and irrefragable evidence in Shakespeare’s own handwriting might have been forthcoming to establish it. Not having been actually enrolled as an attorney, neither the records of the local court at Stratford nor of the superior courts at Westminster would present his name as being concerned in any suit as an attorney; but it might reasonably have been expected that there would have been deeds or wills witnessed by him still extant; and after a very diligent search none such can be discovered.”

In the forty years since Lord Campbell’s book was published the diligent search has not abated. Every old deed or will, to say nothing of other legal papers, dated during the period of William Shaksper’s youth, has been scrutinized over half a dozen shires, and not one signature of the young man has been found. By all recent authors the attorney’s clerk theory has been passed in silence.

F. F. Heard, also a lawyer, in “Shakespeare as a Lawyer”, says: “The Comedy of Errors shows that Shakespeare was very familiar with some of the most refined of the principles of the science of special pleading, a science which contains the quintessence of the law”. 43. Mr. Heard mentions a species of traverse, used by special pleaders when the record was

in Latin, and known as a "special traverse", referred to in 2nd Henry IV, Act 5: "The subtlety of its texture and the total dearth of explanation in all the reports and treatises extant in the time of Shakespeare with respect to its principle, seems to justify the conclusion that he must have attained a knowledge of it from actual practice." 43. A jury of lawyers would certainly find that such familiarity with law indicates deep study and long practice, and that by no possibility could John Doe, coming as a half educated lad to London,* attain it in a score of years under the most favorable conditions.

As to the medical knowledge of the author of these plays, Dr. J. C. Bucknill, in "Psychology of Shakespeare", London, 1859, says, that the author had "paid an amount of attention to subjects of medical interest scarcely, if at all, inferior to that which has served as the basis of the learned and ingenious argument that this intellectual king of men had devoted seven good years of his life to the practice of law." He is "surprised and astonished at the extent and exactness of the physiological knowledge displayed" in these plays, and concluded that abnormal conditions

* At a meeting of the Professional Woman's League, held in New York, May, 1894, the New York Tribune reported that the question was debated: "Who wrote the works ascribed to Shakespeare", and able arguments in favor of Bacon and of player Shakspere were made. The defender of the player theory took the ground that the author was not Bacon, because Bacon was a lawyer, whereas "no more law is shown in the plays than could have been acquired by superficial reading." A good illustration of the "smattering", "hanging around the courts", and "picking up" theory.

of mind had attracted Shakespeare's diligent observation, and had been his favorite study.

He finds instances which amount "not merely to evidence but to proof, that Shakespeare had read widely in medical literature". Dr. Field says: "Shakespeare paid considerable attention to medicine, and has furnished some of the finest specimens of the medical character, that have ever been drawn by any writer. His Cerimon, in *Pericles*, is a most noble one. . . . *Macbeth* supplies us with a wise member of the profession. . . . In *Lear* also appears a physician worthy of the name. The last scene of the 4th Act shows his excellent skill in treating *Lear's* case. Shakespeare's maladies are many, and the symptoms very well defined. . . . Diseases of the nervous system seem to have been a favorite study, especially insanity, *Lear*, *Timon*, and *Hamlet* being excellent examples.* "Medical Thoughts of Shakespeare," 1885.

Sir Charles Bell, in "Principles of Surgery," II, 557, says: "My readers will smile to see me quoting Shakespeare among the physicians and theologists; but not one of all their tribe, populous though it be,

*A letter in the *New York Sun*, of 13th Nov. 1898, quotes a St. Louis surgeon, "who has made a special study of Brain Surgery, thus: "Of course, Shakespeare remains supreme in his portraiture of one form of insanity. He was far in advance of the medical knowledge of his time. No modern alienist has ever presented *Hamlet's* type of mental disorder so accurately. So exact and comprehensive is this product of the insight of genius, that Maudsley prefers it to any other as the basis of a study—prefers it to *Esquirol's* record of actual cases of lunacy in the Paris hospital for the insane".

could describe so exquisitely the marks of apoplexy, conspiring with the struggles for life, and the agonies of suffocation to deform the countenance of the dead; so curiously does our poet present to our conception all the signs from which it might be inferred that the good Duke Humphrey had died a violent death."

"And not only in the general knowledge of a lawyer and a physician, but what we call in these days 'medical jurisprudence', the man who wrote the play of Henry VI seems to have been an expert", according to David Paul Brown, the highest of authorities. Morgan, 215. The player Shaksper would fare no better in the hands of a jury of physicians, than of lawyers.

The poet was not only a great poet, but "myriad minded", and familiar with philosophy from Plato and Aristotle down, according to Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

Dr. Furnivall says of Gervinus' *Studies of Shakespeare*: "He sets before us his view of the poet and his works as a whole, and rightly claims for him the highest honor as the greatest dramatic artist, the rarest judge of men and human affairs, the noblest moral teacher that literature has yet known."

Schlegel said of Shakespeare: "He unites in his soul the utmost elevation and the utmost depth; the world of spirits and nature have laid all their treasures at his feet; in strength a demi-god, in profundity of view a prophet, in all-seeing wisdom a guardian spirit of a higher order, he lowers himself to mortals as if

unconscious of his superiority, and is as open and unassuming as a child."

"There is no quality in the human mind, there is no class of topics, there is no realm of thought, in which he has not soared or descended, and none in which he has not said the commanding word. All men are impressed, in proportion to their own advancement in thought, by the genius of Shakespeare; and the greatest mind values him most." R. W. Emerson.

According to Mr. Ruggles, he was thoroughly familiar with Bacon's Philosophy, and the aim of Mr. Ruggles valuable book is to prove this by an analysis of eleven of the plays.

"The writer of these plays is generally thought of first as a poet, and then as a philosopher; but perhaps if he should be regarded as a philosopher first and then a poet, that is, a philosopher who used a creative imagination, and transcendent power of fancy and language for the purpose of clothing in poetical form the abstract principles of his science of man, we might give a nearer guess at his meaning." Ruggles, 159.

"He was a man of bold and innovating genius indeed who presumed to question the authority of Aristotle in either logic or art. But Bacon did the one and 'Shakespeare' did the other". Id., l. c.

"It is observable that in the illustrations of different branches of learning, the poet for the most part follows the divisions of the sciences laid down by Bacon, but not always, for he sometimes takes his rules from Aristotle, but this is apparently only in cases where Bacon is silent in the points involved." Id., Preface, 4.

“It so happens that in the later plays, and particularly in those written toward the close of the dramatist’s career, the apparent similitudes point not simply to the theoretical views, but to the system and technicalities of the Baconian Philosophy; they seem to reach the classification and subdivisions of the subject of which they treat.” *Id.*, Intro., 4.

“The plan of Bacon’s Natural History and its peculiar classification and nomenclature as well as its use in furnishing materials for induction, were of course entirely original with him; yet it is a singular fact that in *Cymbeline*, the topics of the play—and by topics is here meant those general heads under which the different subjects of the dialogue can be classified—coincide with the main heads and division of Bacon’s plan of a History.” *Ib.* 45.

“By the following analysis of the *Winter’s Tale* it is intended to show that of the three leading divisions made by Bacon of Learning into History, Poetry and Philosophy, the play illustrates Poetry as an art, and more particularly dramatic art as practiced by ‘Shakespeare’. . . . This play is therefore the opposite and counterpart of *Cymbeline*; in which is represented the Method of Induction according to Bacon.” *Id.*, 86.

“The foregoing summary . . . is perhaps sufficient to show the similarity between Bacon’s suggestions and the poet’s practice”. *Id.*, 158.

“*Othello* therefore apparently covers the whole ground of Bacon’s doctrine of ‘the platform or essence of good’, and is a ‘living model’ which shows in its characters, their actions, thoughts, opinions, and sentiments, the practical application of abstract and scientific truths—

thus clothing the dry bones of philosophy with the flesh and blood of dramatic life." Id., 629.

"Shakespeare's genius seems always conscious of its work and its methods, and although by no effort can we go under his fundamental conceptions, even if we have the good fortune of reaching them, yet the structure of his pieces shows *that these conceptions were obtained by study and meditation, and were the fruits of a mind that had fathomed to the bottom every subject of which it treats*; consequently he could present such subjects with all their relations in plays which are the product of both art and philosophy. . . . His plays are not nature, nor copies of nature, nor intended to be such; but art, which makes its own world in imitation no doubt of nature, but with an intentional difference, and under artificial forms and arbitrary conditons." Id., 434.

And Mr. Ruggles declares, p. 3, Introd., in effect his belief that there is some connection between the plays and the Baconian Philosophy, and that between Bacon and Shakespeare there existed some personal relation, "the nature of which, however, must be left to conjecture, since neither history nor tradition makes any mention of them."

"(The play of Julius Caesar) shows that Shakespeare possessed the gift of eloquence to a degree that has never been equalled. Besides all else that it is, it is the play of poetic eloquence . . . the consummate power of oratory. There are no less than three deliberate orations in it, for besides those of Antony and Brutus, there is the splendid speech addressed by Marcellus to the rabble—a piece of invective as fine as

anything of the kind in our literature. Antony's speech remains, of course, the greatest effort in persuasive oratory ever penned. There is not a line in it which even Erskine—that angel-tongued persuader of juries—could have bettered." *Spectator*, (London) Jan. 29, 1898.

Is it conceivable that William Shaksper, if he was possessed of the gift of eloquence, a gift which cannot be concealed, which is irrepressible, should not have employed it on many occasions, and that where there were ears to hear and eyes to see; that he should not have spoken one living word of any description; that not one contemporary should have discovered and remarked upon his oratorical powers? Jonson enumerated the eloquent men of his age, and specified one among them as surpassing all that Greece or Rome could boast. That should have been William Shaksper, if he wrote the Shakespeare plays, but Jonson had no such man in his view, and failed to mention Shaksper in the connection. On another day he did report this Shaksper as loquacious to a degree often laughable. Eloquence is one thing, and loquacity quite another.

Goethe says: "He (Shakespeare) *is not a theatrical poet; he never thought of the stage*; it was too narrow for his great mind, nay, the whole visible world was too narrow. . . . He is a great psychologist, and we learn from his pieces the secrets of human nature."

(On the other hand Halliwell-Phillipps, to suit the facts of the life and environment of player Shaksper, says, I, 114: "There is no evidence that Shaksper

wrote at any period of his life without a constant reference to the immediate effect of his dramas upon the theatrical public of his own day; and it may reasonably be suspected that there is not one of them which is the result of an express or cherished literary design." Phillipps claims that it was the opinion of contemporaries of William Shaksper that he wrote the Plays "without effort and without design and by inspiration", and evidently is himself of the same way of thinking. That would mean that when he took a pen in hand, the words flowed from the nibs without intention or knowledge on his part; in other words he was a mere unconscious medium, through which some external agency manifested itself after the manner of the rapping spirits we have all heard of.)"

John Owens has written a book on "The Five Great Skeptical Dramas of History", London and New York, 1896; in which he treats of Hamlet; one of the five, that "wonderful tragedy". (In Tennyson's opinion also, Hamlet is the greatest creation in literature.) Owens finds no evidence of the play having been thrown off as a pot-boiler, or to fill William Shaksper's theaters and pockets. "Shakespeare himself is Hamlet. . . . Hamlet is a victim of infinity, of thought and reflection so far enlarged that their sphere has become illimitable. He falls a prey first to his own genius for profound meditation, his subtilizing and refining instincts, his invincible preference for the ideal and abstract, as compared with the real and concrete". Can this be the uneducated youth of Halliwell-Phillipps, "almost devoid of accomplishments when he entered London"; or the Shaksper of

Rolfe and Fiske, who "had little Latin, perhaps none", when a lack of Latin was a lack of all education?

"A man of his profound thought, and vivid imagination, must occasionally have made incursions, or attempted surveys of that mysterious and fathomless unknown by which our mundane existence is metaphysically as well as physically environed. He undoubtedly paid repeated visits to the shore of the ocean of transcendental being," etc.

"He was a judicial, equilibrating, suspensive thinker. . . . He saw truth, reason, as well as the springs of human conduct. . . . This was the secret of what Coleridge terms his 'myriad-mindedness', as well as of his intense humanity. . . . Philosophy, theology, ethics, politics, science—in short, all subject-matters of human concernment—are discussed by his characters. . . . All conceivable types of humanity Shakespeare has vivisected and described, and has well nigh exhausted the attributes of each." Can this be the man of whom Prof. Wendell says: "Nothing more surprises such readers of Shakespeare as are not practical men of letters, than the man's apparent learning?" Also, can it be the same Shaksper who for twenty-five years went in and out before all that was worthless and vile of London?

"That Shakespeare was fully convinced of the general advantages of knowledge over ignorance, is a truth needing no demonstration; it is impressed on every page of his works. . . . Ignorance is a monster, and 'barbarous', 'dark', 'barren', 'unweighing.'" Was this the Shaksper who for years left

wife and children to shift for themselves, and whose daughters grew up in illiteracy?

"Hamlet is before all things a thinker, a profoundly philosophic reasoner. . . . Shakespeare had evidently studied profoundly the Hamletic type of intellect. He had acquired his intimate knowledge of it just as Goethe had learned Faust, from introspection." Mr. Owens also says that the best Shakesperian critics seem now agreed that the earliest form of Hamlet, the 1603 Quarto, was indited by William Shakespeare, possibly about 1585-7; which would be when William Shaksper was vending mutton from the tail of a cart. Strange occupation for a Hamletic type of intellect!

"Goethe created Faust. . . . but this creation with all its excellence is entirely inferior in uniformity and artistic finish to all the highest products of the Shakespearean drama, *e. g.*, Hamlet, Othello and Lear." True it is, as I have said before, the world is just now coming to comprehend the plays of Shakespeare. Surely they were never written for the amusement of the penny knaves who pestered the theaters, as Richard Grant White and John Fiske seem to think, and as Charles Dudley Warner, "The People for Whom Shakespeare Wrote", fancies.

And now comes Prof. B. E. Warner, of Tulane University, in his "English History in Shakespeare Plays", New York, 1895, p. 321; written to show that the author of these plays "understood English History as no other man has ever understood it, and has pictured it so, that in the words of S. T. Coleridge

the people have taken their history from Shakespeare as they have taken their theology from Milton."

"Lord Bacon exactly defines in this spirit the value of the historical drama, and hence the function of Shakespeare as a teacher of history. 'Dramatic poetry is like history made visible, and is an image of action past, as though they were present' ". (Is it not remarkable that so many of the scholars who are wandering in the forest of Arden should fancy they hear the footsteps of Francis Bacon!)

"Heine fairly estimates and sums up the historical value of these plays: 'The great Briton is not only a poet but an historian; he wields not only the dagger of Melpomene, but the still sharper stylus of Clio. In this respect he is like the earliest writers of history, who also knew no difference between poetry and history . . . but who enlivened truth with song, and in whose song was heard only the voice of truth.' "

"So writing, Shakespeare taught history as it has never been taught since—not in tables, nor dates, nor statistics—nor in records of revolts or details of battle-fields; but history in its highest and purest form—the uncovering of those springs of action in which great natural movements take their rise." Strange that Mr. Warner should not see how utterly impossible it is that all this learning and philosophy should have come from Stratford. For myself, I believe that Mr. Warner's horse knows as much of history and philosophy as William Shaksper, player, theater-proprietor, and retired millionaire, ever knew.

He was a physicist and natural philosopher. "The diction of the play *All's Well that Ends Well* is largely infused with terms borrowed from mechanics, engineering and military art." Ruggles, 322.

Judge Madden, of Dublin, has written "*A Study of Shakespeare and Elizabethan Sport*", 1897, of which the *Spectator*, November 6, 1897, said that it shows that Shakespeare was "a past-master of the language of falconry. . . . Hardly less curious than the innumerable proofs of Shakespeare's accuracy in this matter are the cases adduced of inaccuracy in modern writers; as, for example, Scott and Tennyson." Now, falconry was peculiarly the sport of gentlemen, and what was a butcher boy and a tramp player to know of that matter? It is one more proof that William Shaksper, of Stratford, was not the William Shakespeare of these plays.

The writer of these plays was also an adept in the science of Heraldry. Greene, "*Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*", says: "It is to be accepted as a fact that he was acquainted with the works of the emblem writers, and profited so much from them, as to be able, whenever the occasion demanded, to invent, and most fittingly illustrate, devices of his own; as, for example, the sixth knight's device and the motto in *Pericles*; and in the casket scene of the *Merchant of Venice*". Reed, 261. Do we go to circus clowns for instruction in Heraldry?

He was an enthusiast in horticulture. In fact, "there is nothing in history or politics, nothing in art or science, nothing in physics or metaphysics, that is not sooner or later taxed for his illustration. Whatever we have gathered of thought or knowledge and of experience, confronted with his marvelous page, shrinks to a mere foot-note." Lowell, 170. Yet John Fiske, for the life of him, cannot see that the Shakespeare plays "abound with evidences of scholarship or learning of the sort that is gathered from profound and accurate study of books." He cannot indeed, and therein plainly differs from Lowell.

Mr. Edward W. Naylor has written "Shakespeare and Music", (The 'Temple Shakespeare Manuals'), 1896, showing that the writer of the plays was familiar with the popular music of his time, and an adept in the science of music. "It is scarcely a matter of surprise that the musical student should look to Shakespeare for music, and find it treated of from several points of view, completely and accurately." In Elizabeth's time, music formed a part of every gentleman's education. "In the 16th and 17th centuries, a practical acquaintance with music was a regular part of the education of both sovereign, gentlemen of rank, and the higher middle class". . . . "In Elizabeth's reign, it was the custom of a lady's guests to sing unaccompanied music from 'parts' after supper, and the inability to take a 'part' was liable to remark from the rest of the company; and, indeed, such inability cast doubt on the person's having any title to education at all." . . . "It is plain that Shakespeare's gentlemen were able to sing from the printed page ('prick song')

as well as to 'descant', that is, to improvise a counterpoint on a given melody; that he was familiar with the construction and the manipulation of the musical instruments commonly used in his day, (the cornet, the tabor-pipe, the recorder, the viol and lute, the virginal); and he knew the characteristics of the dances which were then in vogue." Notice of "Shakespeare and Music", in New York Tribune, June 16th, 1896. By all which, it appears that the writer of the plays was educated in music as became a gentleman of rank, or one of the higher middle class.

He had traveled extensively in France and Italy. The scene of his first play, Love's Labour's Lost, is laid in southern France. No one can explore Venice, Padua, Verona, Milan, and other Italian cities, with the plays in hand, and not feel assured that the writer or writers who were concealed under the name "William Shakespeare" had been in these cities, and knew them as only a resident could. "So strange and so strong is the power of fiction over truth, in Venice, as everywhere else, that Portia, Emilia, Cassio, Antonio, and Iago, appear to have been more real here (*i. e.*, to the traveler in Venice) than of the men and women of real life. It is a curious fact, reported by F. K. Elze, and quoted by Mr. H. H. Furness, in his Appendix to the Merchant of Venice, that at the time of the action of that drama, Shakespeare's own day, there was living in Padua a Professor of the University, whose characteristics fully and entirely corresponded with all the qualities of 'old Bellario', with all the requisites of the play". Lawrence Hut-
ton, in Harper's Magazine, July, 1896.

Mrs. Dall says, p. 35: "My own conviction is, that he spent the period between 1587 and 1592, after some apprenticeship at the theater, chiefly on the continent. This conviction is founded on the internal evidence of the plays."

George A. Sala, in his *Life and Adventures*, writes: "Wandering from Milan to Mantua, and from Padua to Verona, and Vicenza, there grew up in me, day after day, a stronger and stronger impression—an impression that has become unalterable conviction—that Shakespeare knew every rood of ground, and every building in the cities in which he had laid the scenes of the Merchant of Venice, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, of Romeo and Juliet, and of the Taming of the Shrew. . . . It was the constant study of ostensibly petty details in Shakespeare's Italian plays that led me to the full and fast belief that he was familiar from actual experience and observation with the northern Italy of his time."

George Brandes' *Critical Study of Shakespeare*, 1898, finds abundant evidence in the plays that the author had traveled in Italy and elsewhere.

In the *Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1896, is a paper by Jan Stefansson, entitled "Shakespeare at Elsinore", in which the writer "wishes to point out that the author of Hamlet shows in this drama a correct knowledge of Danish names, words, and customs of his time—nay, a local knowledge of the royal castle of Elsinore, which he could not have derived from books, and which can only be satisfactorily accounted for by assuming:

1. That Shakespeare himself saw what he described, or

2. That he was told of it by others, who had been at Elsinore, and seen the interior of the castle.

He goes on: "I shall now proceed to show that the writer of Act III, scene 4, of *Hamlet*, had, it seems, a local knowledge of a room in this famous castle", and he goes on to show the portraits of the kings upon the tapestry. . . . "Shakespeare shows a knowledge of Danish customs, not generally possessed by Englishmen of his time. . . . Shakespeare, all through *Hamlet*, again and again recurs to the Danish custom of drinking 'cannon healths'"—peculiarly a Danish custom. Every time the king drinks, guns are fired. The story of *Hamlet* was first told by Saxo Grammaticus, in his history of Denmark, written A. D. 1180-1200. The story was translated into French and reprinted in Paris, 1514, in Belleforest's '*Histoires Tragiques*', 1570. We know of no other source from which Shakespeare could have borrowed the story. . . . Shakespeare changes the name in Belleforest's *Hamlet*, to make them Danish, introduces new Danish names. . . . He introduces the names of two courtiers, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, neither of which is found in Belleforest",—names which belong to the most powerful and respected families of the Danish nobility. . . . At the beginning of Act II, scene 1, Polonius asks Reginaldo: "Inquire me first what Danskers are in Paris". Dansker is a Danish word and means a Dane. The word occurs nowhere else in the whole range of English literature, but in this passage. (*Teste*, the New English Dictionary, D,

Oxford, 1894.) But Dansk, and Danske, (Danish) are wrongly and indiscriminately used by all other writers for the people or the country, or as adjectives, as far back as 1578. It is certainly striking that Shakespeare should use a Danish word, not used by any one else, correctly, both as regards meaning and grammar, while all his contemporaries, in both respects, are floundering hopelessly about the same word in its adjectival form. . . . Whence did Shakespeare derive his knowledge of a room in Kronberg Castle, of Danish names and customs, and other matters, a knowledge so accurate that he uses correctly Danish names, which everyone else in England used in a wrong form, and meaning? . . . It is a sheer impossibility that Shakespeare could have got knowledge of the kind described from any books, at that time in England, which have come down to us. The question at issue would then seem to be narrowed down to this—did he or did he not, go with his fellow actors to Elsinore?"

In 1585, some English actors appear to have been in Denmark, and they went from Denmark to Germany, 1586, and left Dresden, 1587. "In a passport issued in London, 1591, only four members of Sackville's company are mentioned as going to Germany, though we find later there eighteen. . . . By the passport we see that English actors went abroad to 'perform music, feats of agility, and the games of comedies, tragedies, histories'. Every actor consequently was more or less of a jesting player, and we see from Stowe that Leicester had pantomimes, dancing, and vaulting,

at Utrecht, to the great delight of the Dutch. We may take it then that the English actors in Denmark, in 1586, were some of Leicester's players bent on seeking their fortunes abroad."

Mr. Stefansson, finding that three or four players, who were afterwards connected with the Globe theater, (Kempe, etc.) were with Leicester in Holland, ("we know that these men had been in Leicester's service and gone to Denmark in 1586") goes on to say "*It is a legitimate inference that Shakespeare probably joined them under Leicester. In fact J. P. Collier proved it by a document which he forged.*" I have elsewhere had occasion to remark on the forgeries which spring up in all directions, in order to bolster up the claims of the strolling player Shaksper, and to the strange fact that half the Shakespeare commentators charge the other half with frauds of every description. But why Stefansson should lug in Collier's forged document here, I fail to see. He closes thus: "Bearing in mind the striking knowledge of matters Danish shown in Hamlet, and viewing it in the light of the fact given above as to Shakespeare and his earliest fellow actors and friends, in whose company he seems to have entered upon his theatrical course", (all guess work and assumption); "his visit with them to Elsinore may be safely located in the region that lies between probability and certainty. How near to either these must be individual opinion, but part of the Danish knowledge in Hamlet can, it seems, only thus be explained."

Halliwell-Phillipps brings William Shaksper to London, either in 1585, or 1586, (Fleay holds that it was

in 1587), and he tells us that his first employment was very mean, and that after awhile he got to be a servant in the theater. Also he tells us that the youth, at that time, must have been all but destitute of polished accomplishments. R. G. White says that we may be sure that up to his flight, he had never seen half a dozen books other than his horn book, his Latin Accidence (a primary reader), and a Bible. Mr. Phillipps further tells us, that nothing had been discovered respecting the history of Shaksper's theatrical life, and that it is all but impossible that he should not by 1587 have already commenced his provincial tours; and that, for the next five years, 1587-1592, there is not a particle of evidence respecting his career—not one word said about him, in fact, which has come down to us. If therefore, William Shaksper got to Elsinore in 1586, it was just after he reached London, according to Halliwell-Phillipps, or while he was purveying as a butcher at Stratford, according to Fleay—and anyway while he was an illiterate clown. The Elsinore theory may then be dismissed. That the writer of Hamlet was at Elsinore, however, is not so improbable, but if so, as an ambassador, or in political employment. He showed the same knowledge of language, customs, manners, and places of Italy, France, Scotland, as of Denmark, and was not merely a traveller, but a man of education, capable of appreciating and making use of what he learned in his travels. He certainly was not an apprentice, fresh from the country, among a rabble of buffoons, fiddlers, tumblers and players. To hold that any man, unlearned, or learned, can have a correct knowledge of foreign lan-

guages, manners, customs and places by intuition, is nonsense. To suppose that such a man could sit down and write Hamlet by inspiration and not by design—or by design either—is also nonsense. And yet, if Shaksper did write Hamlet, that was the only way he could have written it. I myself prefer to look for a cause adequate to the effect, and will not stand gaping in wonder at a phenomenon for which there was never a cause.

It is manifest that the writer of these plays was intimately acquainted with the French, Italian and Spanish languages, able to speak as well as read them. A large part of Henry V is in French—whole scenes; and the plots of many of the plays were borrowed from then untranslated Italian and Spanish novels.

Prof. Meiklejohn, 372, says: "The modern Englishmen not only speak Shakespeare, but think Shakespeare. His knowledge of human nature has enabled him to throw into English literature a larger number of genuine 'characters,' that will always live in the thoughts of men, than any other author that ever wrote. And he has not drawn his characters from England alone, and from his own time—but from Greece and Rome, from other countries too, and also from all ages. He has written in a greater variety of styles than any other writer. 'Shakespeare', says Professor Craik, 'has invented twenty styles'. The knowledge, too, that he shows on every kind of human endeavor is as accurate as it is varied. Lawyers say that he was a great lawyer; theologians, that he

was an able divine, and unequalled in his knowledge of the Bible; printers, that he must have been a printer; and seamen, that he knew every branch of the sailor's craft."

He was familiar with courts and princes, as only a man could be who had passed his life in such an atmosphere. Every one of these branches of knowledge, or these experiences, declares the writer of the plays to have been an altogether different man from the player Shaksper.

As will be seen hereafter, there is a school of Shakspeareans who strive to lower the poems and plays to the level of the illiterate player William Shaksper, being unable, professedly, to discover in these works traces of study or learning. The man they say was a natural wit, without cultivation; he sang as a bird sings—like Shelley's skylark, "in profuse strains of unpremeditated art". To be sure, he had picked up a little knowledge after he reached London. He had at no time but a smattering, however, and by consorting with servants and retainers of great houses, he came to have that acquaintance with the manners of princes and nobles of which his works give evidence. That sort of depreciation neither helps the player nor beclouds the author. As for the latter, Samuel Taylor Coleridge exclaims: "Merciful, wonder-making Heaven!—What a man was this Shakespeare! Myriad-minded, indeed, he was!"

The absurdity and impertinence of the assumption that the female characters of these plays, Katharine

and Constance, Hermione and Perdita, Juliet and Rosalind, Imogene and Beatrice, Miranda and Desdemona, and the hundred others, could have sprung from the consciousness of a Warwickshire clown, is inconceivable.

Look at one of these characters, Miranda, in the *Tempest*, "so perfect, so peerless; unsullied purity of mind and tenderest compassion form this exquisite creation. Her every thought is innocent and pure, unmixed with baser matter. There is no stain of earth upon her. She is the rare consummate flower of the highest culture, impossible to be found, no doubt, on this earth, but blooming in matchless beauty in the ideal world of Shakspeare." Ruggles, 674.

"The exquisite Miranda belongs to the highest ideal from her position and education, but her very noblest attributes are those of womanhood." Charles Knight.

Will any man venture to say that this wonderful creation sprung from the brain of a rollicking, dissolute strolling player, a man who knew not what compassion was, as the records of the courts show, who could not have had the faintest conception of purity of mind, any more than culture. A female character from the hand of player Shaksper would have had a great deal of the "stain of earth upon her". Doll Tear-sheet, or Wapping Sal, would have filled the bill exactly. All experience teaches that water cannot rise higher than its source. The player's mother and wife being such persons as described by Phillipps, not one whit higher than milk maids, how was it possible that he could have known anything of female delicacy and refinement, and of what constitutes a gentle-

woman, before he fled to London? And we may be very sure that the sort of women he consorted with after he came to London were neither princesses nor ladies.

Players were vagabonds, social pariahs (deemed, says Dr. Ingleby, *sans avcu*, to be run-a-ways and vagabonds), and the probability that any man of standing, gentleman or nobleman, would invite one of them to dinner, or to introduce them to his wife and daughters, is very small indeed. Hence, there is not the slightest written evidence in the letters, diaries, or gossip of that day, that player or manager Shaksper was ever seen within any gentleman's house, or was anywhere received as an equal or as a comrade, by the better sort of people.

Yet, Dr. Brandes, in his Critical Studies, can talk of William Shaksper, of Stratford, in this way: "The great ladies of that day were extremely accomplished. They had been educated as highly as the men, spoke Italian, French and Spanish fluently, and were not unfrequently acquainted with Latin and Greek. Lady Pembroke, Sidney's sister, the mother of Shakespeare's (Shaksper's) patron, was regarded as the most intellectual woman of her time. . . . So that we can easily understand how a daring, highbred woman of intelligence should have been for years the object which it most delighted Shakespeare (Shaksper) to portray." Dr. Brandes has found enough in the poems and plays of "Shakespeare" to enable him to write 600 pages to tell of it, and all that he finds he lays at the feet of the player, regardless of fact or history. "In the two volumes not a single new fact

has been added to the records of Shakespeare's life; the reader would be disappointed, but not surprised, to discover that not a single new fact had been added to the records of the poet's life; he would look eagerly for any addition to our knowledge of Shakespeare's personal character, of his relation to his contemporaries, of his attitude towards the events of his time, of his studies, of the influence exercised on him by those studies and by his surroundings, and he would be indulgent if he found merely a recapitulation of what has long been before the world. . . . We laid the book down with more disappointment than we can express." *Literature*, March 12, 1898.

The book is another effort, like that of Dr. Baynes, to construct a living Shakespeare from the Shakespeare poems and plays, and the more excellent the construction the more unlike it is to William Shaksper, of Stratford, of whom Halliwell-Phillipps wrote the biography.

It follows that some other head conceived, some other hand delineated the female characters of these plays. Whoever wrote them was a gentleman as well as of the highest culture. In Rosetti's "Famous Poets", 41, we read: "Shakespeare, it may be abundantly inferred from his writings, always accounted himself a gentleman by birth and breeding, and the associates of his choice were gentlemen." Thus it is: every characteristic of the author of these plays, discovered in the plays, pushes the Stratford man farther down the horizon.

I should not omit to say here that it is Dr. Wallace who accounts for the poet's intimate knowledge of

high life in this way: "The lordly castles of Warwick and Kenilworth were within half a dozen miles of Stratford, and at times of festivity such castles were open houses, and at all times would be easily accessible through the friendship of servants and retainers, and thus might have been acquired some portion of that knowledge of the manners and speech of nobles and kings which appear in the historical plays."

Uncaused phenomena have no play in the scheme of nature; "nothing comes to pass without a cause, and a cause proportionable and agreeable to the effect." If a man at twenty-five puts forth poems or plays steeped in classical learning; if the Latin language is amalgamated and consubstantiated with his native thought; if his acquaintance with the English language, and the skill with which he uses that language, is phenomenal; the effect must have had a cause proportionable, and that cause was early instruction by competent masters, and labor and incessant study for years. If the works display an intimate knowledge of the usages of polite society, the effect could have but one cause—the author must have had good breeding in his youth. If the works display a minute knowledge of the manners and customs of a foreign country, with mention of persons and places, at a time when there were no itineraries or guide-books, such knowledge could have been gained only by residence or travel in said country. If the works discover an intimate knowledge of the science of law, and a familiarity with the rules of pleading, the cause of this effect was study and practice in law, and for a long

period. If the works evince a profound acquaintance with philosophy, ancient and modern, the cause of this effect was not intuition or inspiration, but study and meditation in seclusion. Where in the life of William Shaksper is to be found a cause proportionable to any one of these effects, much more causes proportionable to them all combined?

It makes no difference who did write the plays, in the present argument; the point is, that William Shaksper, the Stratford butcher, later player, did not. When so improbable a statement is made, as that he, whose antecedents we have given, wrote these poems and plays, in the words of Prof. Huxley on statements no more improbable, "We not only have a right to demand, but we are morally bound to require, strong evidence in its favor before we even take it into consideration."

What is the evidence? Simply that during a period of nine or ten years, certain plays—a long series of them—and successive editions of them—were published anonymously, and no one gave sign that he knew the authors; that ten years after one of them (L. L. L.) had first been performed, a new edition of it appeared bearing the name of "William Shakespere" as the reviser and augmenter; that new editions of some other plays subsequently appeared under the name of William Shake-speare, or Shakespeare; that at the same time new plays apparently by the same authors, and editions of the old ones, continued to issue anonymously; that thirty-five years after the first play of the series had been put on the stage, and twenty-five years after the name Shakespeare first ap-

peared on a printed play, what is called the First Folio, comprising the "collected plays of William Shakespeare" was published by a syndicate of printers, not improbably with the cooperation of one or more of the authors, at the time living, because information seems to have been furnished the printers which only an author can be supposed to have given, as to which among the many plays, genuine and spurious, were really those of "Shakespeare"; also and more particularly because revised and enlarged copies of the old plays were then contributed toward making the collection a complete one; that a persistent effort was made by the printers, who had sole control of the volume, and the right as well as the power to do what they pleased respecting it, even to attributing it to whom they pleased, to impress upon the public that the unknown "Shakespeare" was but another name for one Shaksper, or Shahkspair, as Furnivall says the man's name was pronounced, recently a proprietor of one of the London theaters, who had retired from business a very rich man; that the publication excited little interest at the time, or for three-score years afterwards, during which period the last surviving author of these plays had passed away, and made no sign, as also had the printers and everybody who had any knowledge of the subject-matter; that no one in the literary world knew or had known this Shaksper, where he came from, what were his antecedents, or what his life in London had been, except that he was said to have been a player and part owner of one of the public theaters; that whether he was the author of the Shakespeare plays was nobodys care and nobodys

business, for no one thought the plays worth talking about, or better than the work of other play-wrights. This is so, for Dr. Ingleby assures us that for a full hundred years after the first of these plays appeared, no one thought their author to be *sui generis*. He is also obliged to confess that the suppositious author was unknown to the men of that age, because, after the most diligent search through all contemporary books, and accessible letters, diaries, note-books, he finds the man mentioned but three or four times, while he lived, and then as a player merely, never as a writer or an author. This being the state of things, it is not surprising that as the years went on, what was at first a lie came to be accepted as the truth, until finally what was purely mythical in the beginning came to be a part of the religion of the English race. To be sure the Doctor brings in all the mentions of the works, even the most distant allusions, and transfers them in bulk to his Shaksper. But an examination easily shows which are references to the player man, and which to the works he did not write. Some years after the death of Shaksper, two or three persons who had known him left some mention of him; and one of them is contained in certain elegiac verses prefixed to the First Folio, entitled "To my Beloved, Mr. William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us," written as Shaksper's modern admirers hold, in glowing and appreciative eulogy,—but certainly in ridicule of the player. All the reputation of William Shaksper as the author of the works of William Shakespeare rests on a string of verses that are mocking and malicious, as I shall presently show. There is not a tittle be-

yond this in his favor. So long as nothing was known of the Stratford man, there seemed no improbability in the assumption that he was the author; but at length arose careful investigators, as Halliwell-Phillips and Dr. Ingleby, and all contemporary literature and records were searched for items in the history of William Shaksper, with the unforeseen result that the present generation knows the man altogether too well. They know the kind of people he came from, his bringing up, the sort of schooling he had, if he had any, the sort of handwriting he acquired, if he ever learned to write at all, of his apprenticeship to a butcher; his habits and associates, his flight from Stratford, and the occupation he followed in London, varied with trading and money getting; all and every one of these conditions and pursuits fatal to any literary achievement whatever. The man made a heap of money, and that was the sole outcome of his fifty-odd years' life-work. While he lived, he was known to no one as a poet or playwright; indeed his handwriting, as well as his illiteracy, forbade that, and any reputation he has now in that direction is wholly mythical. The labors of the two investigators named have stripped off his borrowed plumes, and left him an obscure and uninteresting mortal. No one during his lifetime testified in verse or prose, or in any sort of writing that has come to us, Ingleby being witness, that William Shaksper, of Stratford-on-Avon, wrote poems or plays. "Allusions to his works will be found collected in Dr. Ingleby's *Centurie of Prayse*; but they consist almost entirely of slight references to his published works, and have no bearing of importance

on his career. Neither as addressed to him by others, nor by him to others, do any commendatory verses exist in connection with his or other men's works published in his lifetime". Fleay, 73.

He is represented fifty times as a man of business, engaged in piling up his ducats by a great variety of occupations, and is also known as a player, manager, and part proprietor of a public theater; but no one while he lived said that he wrote plays for that theater, or wrote plays or poems at all. No one said he had ever seen him with a book or pen in his hand, or heard him speak of writing plays. No one testified that he was engaged, or thought to be engaged, about any literary matter whatever. He was running a theater, and getting, as he could, interludes, or shows, or spectacles, wherewith to amuse an audience of illiterate and ignorant people. While he was so connected with the theater, certain plays issued from the press for years anonymously, but at length some of them bore the name "William Shakespeare", a name when spoken having but a distant resemblance to his own. He called himself in his youth Shagsper, and his father had gone by forty variations of the name Shaksper—Shaxper, Shacksper, Shaxberd, etc., etc. Later, in London, he signed his name (or it was signed for him, with his consent) to a deed and mortgage, Shakspar, and Shaksper; and finally, at Stratford, to his last Will, three times, Shaksper. The registry of his burial at Stratford made him Shakspere, according to Phillipps, but instead of the terminal letters *re*, it is probably the German *r*, and so Shaksper.

Scenes from, or skeletons of, some of these plays may have been given at this man's theater, and it is not improbable that some outsiders, knowing nothing of player Shaksper personally or historically—for as Ingleby tells us "he was unknown to the men of that age"—and knowing nothing of William Shakespeare, the author of the plays, may have supposed player and author the same individual. But no one said so. It is a surmise at best. John Manningham, who told a story about player Shaksper, calls him Shakespeare (Ingleby, 45), and John Davies (86) speaks of him as a player ("Hadst thou not played some kingly parts," etc.) under the name of Shakespeare. If either of these men thought he was the William Shakespeare who was writing the plays, he did not say so. Both Manningham and Davies spoke of him as a player. There is nothing, up to the player's death, that implies that anyone thought player and author the same individual. After his death, two or three men who had known him assured the world that this man was the real author, but they gave their testimony under very suspicious circumstances.

It would appear that the player applied for a grant of coat-armour for his father under the name of "Shakspere", (his profession making it impossible that such right should be granted to himself), insinuating that his ancestors had been fierce in battle, and had shaken spears as well as other folk—and Shaksper or Shahkspair (John Peter) was a name to slough off if coat-armour was in question, and William was to be metamorphosed into a gentleman.

When John Shaksper came to be buried, his name

was written in the Stratford Church Register (where it can be seen to-day) Shakspeare; and later, his wife, as Mrs. Shakspeare, (not Shakespeare—they all stick to the Shak). William Shaksper was entered in the same book. It is conceivable that the name Shakespeare, in the last years of his player or manager life came to attach to him, first as a joke and then as a custom, and that he was known to his fellows in London as Shakespeare, as often as Shaksper. The player may have come to pose as the true and only Shakespeare. This, however, is all guess-work, for there is no evidence one way or other.

PART II.

CHAPTER X.

REFERENCES TO SHAKESPEARE, AUTHOR OR WORKS, OR TO THE MAN FROM STRATFORD-ON-AVON, THE PLAYER SHAKSPER OR SHAKSPERE.

The references or allusions to, and mentions of, Shakespeare, author or works, or player Shaksper, direct or indirect, between 1592 and 1616, the date of the player's death, and between 1616 and 1692, in contemporary literature, were carefully collected by Dr. Ingleby, and published in the "Centurie of Prayse", 1874. This contained 228 references. In 1879, Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, by request, and with the approval, of Dr. Ingleby, edited the second edition, in which the references were brought up to 356 for the one hundred years. Miss Smith, in the preface says, however, that a re-examination renders 25 of Dr. Ingleby's 228 references doubtful, and to each of these she has affixed an asterisk of warning for the reader's benefit. Rejecting the 25 spoken of—because if they are doubtful, they are valueless in this case—that makes, according to Ingleby and Smith, about three mentions per year of Shakespeare, author or works, or references to works, for the one hundred years.

Between 1592 and 1616, the number of allusions is 121. On examining them carefully, I find the following state of things:—

1. There are but three concerning the player, viz:

45, 67, 94,—possibly two others, 58 and 89. None of him as an author.

2. To the individual who wrote the plays, "William Shakespeare", none that are personal.

3. To "Shakespeare", author of poems or plays, or both, nine: 6, 16, 26, 30, 48, 64, 71, 76, 106—not one of them implying a personal acquaintance with this author.

4. "Shakespeare" enumerated among other poets, nine: 20, 21, 56, 59, 63, 91, 100, 108, 111.*

5. To one or other poem without mention of Shakespeare's name, seven: 13, 14, 17, 32, 33, 57, 75.

6. To one or other play without mention of name of "Shakespeare", thirty: 25, 27, 29, 31, 38, 40, 41, 47, 50, 52, 60, 62, 66, 72, 73, 74, 77, 79, 85, 90, 95, 97, 101, 102, 103, 105, 114, 115, 117, 118.

7. I reject some of the so-called allusions because there is no evidence that they refer either to Shakespeare or the Shakespeare poems: 1, 7, 44, 53, 55, 86, 98.

8. I also reject sixteen because it is not certain that a Shakespeare play is referred to at all: 5, 12, 19, 35, 36, 42, 57, 60, 69, 78, 82, 93, 107, 109, 112, 113.

One of the allusions to Shakespeare which I have credited to him as author of the poems, viz: 30, speaks of the Venus and Adonis and also of Hamlet: G. Harvey, "1598, or after 1600". This was from "a manuscript note in Speght's Chaucer, now lost; first printed in Johnson and Steevens' Shakespeare, 1773".

* Every mention of "Shakespeare" is included within the 18 references here specified in paragraphs 3 and 4.

"The younger sort take much delight in Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis; but his Lucrece, and his tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, have it in them to please the wiser sort, 1598." Malone, who saw the volume, doubted whether the note was written by Harvey before 1600, and consequently Ingleby has added the date 1600 with a query. Now the first Quarto of Hamlet was printed in 1603; was entered in the Stationer's Register, 26 July, 1602, and Fleay thinks it was first played in 1601. He says of this first Quarto: "This form of Hamlet seems to have been an unfinished refashioning of the old play of Kyd that had so long been performed by the Chamberlain's men", p. 229. At best then, Harvey's reference to Hamlet is based on the supposition that the author of Lucrece, whoever he might be, had edited the new edition of Kyd's Hamlet.

There is but one reference to any author during the twenty-four years which shows that the writer thought that the author of the poems, to-wit, William Shakespeare, had also written plays. Francis Meres, 1598, the same year in which an edition of *Love's Labour's Lost* first exhibited the name of William Shakespeare on the title page of a play, was apparently led to conjecture that several plays, which for the last years had been performed or published anonymously were by the same author. He was partly right, but in the greater part wrong.

Dr. Frederick J. Furnivall, in 1886, published what was announced to be a work supplementary to Ingleby's, entitled "Some 300 Fresh Allusions to Shakspeare from 1594 to 1694." From 1594 to 1616, there are

53 so-called allusions to Shakespeare, author or works—none to the player (Shaksper)—none of them expressing or implying an acquaintance with the author—many of them doubtful, many indefinite; the larger part introduced as “echoes of”, “resemblances to”, “recollections of”, “seems to be taken from”, seem to be copying Shaksper”, “may have had in mind”, “conjecturally an allusion to”, “in all probability borrowed from”, “quoted rather as illustrations than recollections of”, sounds like”, “an expansion of a line in”, “had an eye on the well-known passage”, “a suggestion of the words of”, “perhaps found on”. Some mention or allude to Venus and Adonis, some allude—usually remotely—to one play or other; none have anything to say of Shakespeare, author, except that the writer of the *Returne from Parnassus*, 1600, whom Ingleby had already quoted, p. 12, made one of the interlocutors exclaim, “Sweete Mr. Shakspeare”, and again, “O, sweete Mr. Shaksper, I’ll have his picture at my study at the courte.”

GALL (10)—“Let me heare Mr. Shakspear’s veyne.”

INGEN (1050) “Faire Venus, queene of beautie and of love,
Thy red doth stayne the blushings of the morn,
Thy snowy neck,” etc., etc.

GALL.—“Let this duncified world esteem of Spenser and Chaucer, I’ll worship sweete Mr. Shakespeare, and to honor him will lay his Venus and Adonis under my pillow,” etc.

In but one other of these allusions, John Bodenham, 1600, p. 13, is the name of Shakespeare mentioned, and then merely as one of the flowers of the Muses’

Garden: "Edmund Spenser, Henry Constable, John Marston, Christopher Marlowe, Benjamin Johnson, William Shakespeare."

In the two volumes of Ingelby and Furnivall, "Shakespeare," author (or works) is mentioned by name, between 1591 and 1616, or during 25 years, just twenty times;—less than once a year; between 1616 and 1623, the date of the issue of the First Folio, three times, or once in 2 years; between 1623 and 1632, when the 2nd Folio issued, 35 times, or nearly four times per year; between 1632 and 1660, 46 times, or about one and one-half times a year; between 1660 and 1693, 101 times, or about three times a year. The total number of mentions in the one hundred years contained in these authors is 206, or a trifle over two per year. In 1659, the name Shakespeare was not mentioned at all. Think of it!*

Wm. Shaksper, (assumed by Ingleby and Furnivall to have been William Shakespeare), died in 1616. In Ingleby's book there is no mention of Shaksper or Shakespeare in that year, except that the inscription over his grave, "Good friend for Jesus sake forbear," etc., is given. In Furnivall there is not a line respecting either of the two men between 1610 and 1620, and indeed for a much longer period.

Consider what these compilations mean:—During nearly the whole of the 19th century numerous persons have been searching all English literature con-

* Furnivall's allusions are largely gathered by running through the plays of a voluminous author, as Ford, Massinger, Beaumont and Fletcher, and spotting everything that seemed "an echo of", etc., etc.

temporary with the life of William Shaksper of Stratford-on-Avon, or of William Shakespeare, author, and his works, during the same period, the two names being generally supposed to belong to the same individual. The compilers of the modern English dictionaries solicit the aid of cultivated men and women, wherever the English language is spoken, in search of words in all books, and they find thousands of helpers. In this way, in search of Shaksper, player, or Shakespeare, author, or works, thousands of volunteer readers have gone through every book published between the years I have mentioned. Not only all books, but all accessible correspondence contemporary with the London life of player Shaksper, and there remains to-day a vast accumulation of it; all diaries—and it was an age of diaries and note-books—these and correspondence filling the place which newspapers came to occupy in the later centuries. And what is the outcome of all this search? Between 1587, when he went to London, and 1616, the year of his death, there are but three mentions and two possible allusions in books, letters, note-books, or diaries, of or to the player. That is, as a man connected in any way with a theater. There is not one of him as an author.

What Dr. Ingleby's reasons for making his compilation were is not apparent, but if he thought it to the honor of William Shaksper, of Stratford, he was a good deal astray. Charles Dickens wrote: "The life of Shakspeare is a fine mystery, and I tremble every day lest something should turn up." Bishop Wordsworth thoughtfully remarks on this, 396: "It has been a frequent subject of complaint that so little has come

down to us respecting our poet's life. For my part, I am inclined to doubt whether it would be desirable for us to be more fully informed concerning it than we actually are;" and in a note, the good Bishop of St. Andrews adds, that Charles Dickens in his letters, then just published (1879) "expresses very strongly the same sentiment."

Well, something has turned up, and in an unexpected quarter; something in the shape of Phillipps' "Life", Ingleby's "Centurie", and Furnivall's "Fresh Allusions". These three books have done the business for the claimant; these three authors have cooked Shaksper's goose, and there is no gainsaying their testimony. Ignorance is the mother of devotion; why could not these busy-bodies have let sleeping dogs lie, and suffered us to worship our numbo-jumbo in peace!

A few mentions of the man Shaksper could have been collected outside his theatrical life—in the records of the Court of Stratford, or of the town itself; in deeds or conveyances of one sort or other. Two letters of Abraham Sturley to Richard Quiney speak of Mr. Shaksper, and "Mr. Wm. Shak", respectively; one referring to Shaksper's contemplated purchase of land at Shottery (H.-P., II, 57); the other saying that the writer had received Quiney's letter assuring him "that our countriman would procure us monie", and nothing further. (H.-P., II, 59.) There is also extant a letter from said Quiney to Wm. Shaksper direct, asking for a loan of money. But these mentions did not fall within the plan of Ingleby's book, and are therefore not given in it.

The total number of mentions given in Ingleby in the same years (1591 to 1616) of Shakespere or Shakespeare, referring solely to certain poems and plays, are sixty-five, but I reject, as I have said, twenty-two of them for uncertainty. Many of them are so obscure that they should not have been included in the *Centurie of Prayse*. I will speak of the three references to the player. [Edmund Spenser should not have been in this book, and bears the asterisk of warning. A verse is quoted from Colin Clout, which alludes to some one under the name of Aetion:

“And there, though last, not least is Aetion,
A gentler shepheard may nowhere be found;
Whose Muse, full of high thought’s invention,
Doth like himself Heroically sound.”

In his 1st Ed., Dr. Ingleby says that this verse must have been meant for Shakespeare, because no other poet has a surname of heroic sound’’; but he adds that Halliwell-Phillipps remarks that the lines seem to apply with equal propriety to Warner.* The 2d Ed. gives the verse, but the editor has affixed to it an asterisk of warning; that is, it is regarded as presumably a reference to some one else other than Shakespeare. Nobody now can tell whom it was meant for].

On p. 45, John Manningham, 13th March, 1601, makes the player party to an amour, as follows:—

* Warner, author of *Albion’s England*, a now forgotten poem. But “Warner, according to Anthony Wood, was ranked by his contemporaries on a level with Spenser, and they were called the Homer and Virgil of their age.” Craik.

“Upon a tyme Burbidge played Rich. 3, there was a citizen gaen so farr in liking with him, that before shee went from the play shee appointed him to come that night unto her by the name of Rich. the 3. Shakespere overhearing their conclusion, went before, was entertained and at his game ere Burbidge came. Then Message being brought that Rich. the 3 was at dore, Shaksper caused return to be made that William the Conquerour was before Rich. the 3. Shakespere’s name William”. No light here on the authorship of the Shakespeare plays; or that William Shaksper was known to the writer of this note otherwise than as a player. Indeed it is fair to assume that Manningham, who was of the Middle Temple, and a barrister-at-law, an educated and reading man, as the Twelfth Night entry in his diary shows, did not recognize this man of the amour as the author of plays now published for some years under the name of William Shakespeare. He had made an entry in his diary, 2 Feb., of the same year, 1601: “At our feast we had a play called Twelve Night, much like the Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and nearer to that in Italian called Inganni”, and so on, giving a brief abstract of the play. When he recorded the story, six weeks later told on player Shaksper, or Shakespere, as he calls him, he very naturally would have added “author of the Twelfth Night play that so amused me a few weeks ago,” if he had known or ever heard that he was the author. Nothing of the sort—no hint that player and author were one individual. The Shakespere plays had been on the stage since 1589, or for twelve years before Manningham made his entry,

many of them of the greatest of the series, and according to Phillipps, they were much talked of. Yet this lawyer evidently knew nothing of their connection with the player of whom he tells the story.

67. Anonymous, about 1605, *Ratsie's Ghost*. This advises a player to go to London: "There thou shalt learn to be frugal, and to feed upon all men, but let none feed upon thee; to make thy hand a stranger to thy pocket, thy heart slow to perform thy tongue's promises; and when thou feelest thy purse well lined, buy thee some place of lordship in the country, . . . *for I have heard indeed of some that have gone to London very meanly, and have come in time to be exceedingly wealthy.*" All commentators agree that this refers to player and land-owner Shaksper. The note by the editor to the second edition of Ingleby, says that, "some that have gone to London, etc.", unmistakably points to Shakespeare (Shaksper).

94. John Davies of Hereford, about 1611, *Ing.*, 94: "To our English Terence, Mr. Will Shake-speare:

Some say (good Will).
Which I, in sport, do sing
Hadst thou not plaid some kingly part, in sport,
Thou hadst bin a companion for a King;
And beene a king among the meaner sort,
Thou hast no rayling, but a raigning Wit."

The editor says here: "It seems likely that these lines refer to the fact that Shakspeare was a player, a profession that was then despised and accounted mean." If you were not a player you would pass for a good fellow, yes, even a king among the meaner sort.

John Davies of Hereford* (not to be confounded with another poet, Sir John Davies), was an actor during the greater part of his life. He here speaks of Shakespeare as an actor, not as a poet or as a playwright. It is true that he heads this line quoted, "To our English Terence," but the lines that follow speak of the man as a player only. That cannot be construed into a testimony that Davies regarded Shaksper as the author of the Shakespeare plays. Terence wrote comedies only, and if Davies referred to comedies attributed to William Shaksper, the player, he may have meant Fair Em, the Miller's Daughter, as probably as anything else,—or interludes and jiggles.

There are two possible allusions to player Shaksper by the same John Davies. One of these is found in Inglesby, 58, 1603:

"Players, I love yee, and your Qualitie†,
As ye are Men, that pass time not abus'd:
And some I love for painting, poesie,

W. S. R. B. And say fell Fortune cannot be excus'd,
That hath for better uses you refus'd:
Wit, courage, good shape, good partes, and all good,
As long as all these goods are no worse us'd,
And though the stage doth staine pure gentle blood,
Yet generous ye are in minde and moode."

In the margin to the left are printed the capital let-

* "A contemporary author of a great quantity of verse. Gifted with extraordinary volubility and self-confidence, but with no delicacy or taste, the writings of this John Davies have survived more by reason of their bulk, and their accidental interest of reference or dedication than from any intrinsic merit". Enc. Brit.

† "'Quality' in Elizabethan English was the technical term for the 'actor's profession,'" Lee, 43.

ters, W. S. R. B. as reproduced here, supposed by Ingleby to mean William Shaksper and Richard Burbage. They may have stood for either William Smith or William Sly. William Shaksper would seem to have been too insignificant as a player to be thus apostrophized.

Again, 84, Ing., 1609, Davies speaks thus:

"Some followed her by acting all mens parts,
These on a stage she raised (in scorne) to fall:
And made them Mirrors, by their acting Arts
Wherein men saw their faults, thogh ne'r so small:

W. S. R. B. Yet some she guerdoned not, to their desarts;
But othersome, were but ill—Action all:
Who while they acted ill, ill staid behind,
(By custome of their maners) in their minde."

Again the letters W. S. R. B. stand in the margin.

These three mentions and the two possible allusions of and to player Shaksper are all that are to be found in Ingleby and Furnivall between 1597 and 1616.

There is a reference to Thos. Heywood, p. 99, 1612, which has been claimed as testimony to the player's authorship, as follows:

"Here likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that work" (the *Passionate Pilgrim*, by W. Shakespeare, a collection made by the piratical publisher, William Jaggard, in which two poems by Heywood were printed as Shakespeare's), by taking the two epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris, and printing them under the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steal them from him. . . . So the author" (Ingleby says Shakespeare, but Heywood merely says the author) I know

much offended with Mr. Jaggard, that altogether unknown to him, presumed to be so bold with his name." Not much light here. As Jaggard's book contains some genuine Shakespeare Sonnets, that is, Sonnets by the author of the Shakespeare poems, it is to be understood that Heywood had this author, whoever he was, in mind. Certainly there is nothing to connect the authorship with player Shaksper.

Richard Barnfeild, 1598, Ing. 26, wrote "A Remembrance of some English Poets". After a verse to Spenser, and others to Daniel and Drayton, he speaks thus:

"And Shakespeare thou, whose honey-flowing vaine
(Pleasing the World) thy Praises doth obtaine.
Whose Venus and whose Lucrece (sweete and chaste)
Thy name in fame's immortall Booke have plac't.
Live ever you, at least in Fame live ever:
Well may the Bodye die, but Fame dies never."

There is no intimation here that Barnfeild had a personal acquaintance with the author of *Venus and Adonis*, and there is not a word respecting plays written by that author, nor anything to connect the verse with player Shaksper.

John Webster, 1612, Ing. 100, is talking of several authors, the good opinion of whose labors he "had ever truly cherished":—especially of "that full and heightened style of Master Chapman, the labored and understanding works of Master Jonson; the no less worthy composures of the both worthily excellent Master Beaumont and Master Fletcher; the right happy and copious industry of Mr. Shake-speare, Mr. Decker and Mr. Heywood," etc. Webster was one of the

great poets and dramatists of that age, and he, in all his writings, had nothing to say of "Shake-speare" other than that he exhibited remarkable industry. There is nothing personal in this mention, nothing implying that Webster had an acquaintance with this "Shake-speare"; nothing to indicate that he had ever read the *Venus and Adonis*, or one of the plays; certainly nothing that he had in mind a player at the Globe Theater.

Shakspereans cite these words of John Webster as if they were proof conclusive that the contemporaries of William Shaksper held him to be the author of the Shakespeare poems and plays. Thus, the *Spectator* (London) 7th May, 1898, in a paper on Dr. Brandes' "Shakespeare", thinks that Brandes should have emphasized the fact that so great a man as Webster classes "Shakespeare" (*i. e.* Shaksper) "promiscuously with Heywood and Decker". Whereas it is plain that Webster had no thought of anything but of the rapidity of production; and surely there is in his mention no thought of the player. Dr. Ingleby is led by these and other mentions of Shakespeare in the same style to say that "It is plain that the bard of our admiration was unknown to the men of that age." No one knew such a bard otherwise than by his writings.

There is a reference, *J. M.*, 1600-12, p. 98, which I reject for uncertainty; and to which Miss Smith has affixed the asterisk.

"It seems 'tis true that W. S. said,
When once he heard one courting of a Mayde,—
Believe not thou Mens fayned flatteryes,
Lovers will tell a bushell full of lies."

Miss Smith thinks this must have been an impromptu on the part of player Shaksper. But Ingleby says Shaksper was unknown to the men of that age, and it is very unlikely that impromptus of an unknown player at a public theater would be repeated in society. Some critics refer these W. S. verses to William Smith; Mr. Fleay says William Sly.

Nearly all the Shakespearean commentators quote Greene's words on the upstart crow which I have before given (chap. VIII) as proof that William Shaksper was, by 1592, a recognized author of plays. I have shown that there is no valid reason adduced by Phillipps or Ingleby, why "Shake-scene" should be identified with player Shaksper, but something more may be said on the matter. Fleay, 110, says: "Mr. R. Simpson (School of Shakspeare, 1878) showed that 'beautified with our feathers' meant *acting plays written by us*, and he approves of that interpretation, but 'bombast out a blank verse' undoubtedly refers to Shakspeare as a writer also". Even supposing Greene had player Shaksper in mind, the words "bombast", etc., do not necessarily or naturally, in the connection, mean anything more than to spout a verse on the stage in a noisy, ranting, uncouth manner. The meaning of bombast, in Webster, is to swell, or fill out, to pad, to inflate. The root meaning of the word, to sound, to boom, is the same as of bomb, and of bombard, of which last bombast is put down as a synonym. If we may assume that player Shaksper is meant, we are to understand that this Jack-of-all-trades, his butcher's apron just sloughed off, and his language the patois of Warwickshire, was making himself ridiculous in

spouting verses "*written by us*", and his turkey-gobbler strut and his delivery were the objects of Greene's sarcasm. In the same connection he speaks of the Shake-scene as one of "*those puppets that speak from our mouths*", "*those antics garnished in our colors*", *those apes, peasants, painted monsters*, etc. On such a mention as that of "bombasting out a blank verse", to assert, first, that Jack Shaksper, the upstart crow, wrote Marlowe's play of 3 Henry VI, and secondly, that "bombasting" implies that he wrote the Shakespeare plays, is nonsense. Fleay allows that the first half of the sentence merely refers to the antics of the crow, as a player, and certainly the last half of the sentence serves to intensify the crow's description. This is a good sample of the crooked sticks by which the Shakspeareans endeavor to shore up their theory that the crow was the great Shakespeare himself.

Another thing: Greene's remarks date from 1592, by which time the real "Shake-speare" had written several of his best plays, Love's Labour's Lost, Love's Labour's Won, The Comedy of Errors, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, and Romeo and Juliet (I follow Fleay, I, 104-6). John Owens thinks that the first draft of Hamlet dates from 1585-7. Is there anything in these plays to arouse the ire of Greene, and to incite him to charge the author of them with "bombasting", in the sense of padding, turgidity, pompous phraseology? Nothing at all. His words have no application to such, or any Shakespeare plays. It was the crow, player Shaksper, he was roasting, if by Shake-scene, he meant that man. Greene gives no hint that he knew the player as man or author, but if Shake-

scene could have meant that man, then Greene attacked him simply as a jack-at-all-trades, a puppet, antic, *speaking our words*, etc.

This usual Shakesporean interpretation of Greene's words brings Chettle forward, and it is claimed that what he says is of extreme importance as proving that William Shaksper was on terms of intimacy with very great people. Following Fleay, the case is this: Chettle was the editor of the posthumous pamphlet entitled "A Groatsworth of Wit", by Robert Greene, which begins thus: "Base-minded men, all three of you, if by my misery ye be not warned; for unto none of you (like me) sought those burrs to cleave; those puppets, I mean, that speak from our mouths, those antics garnished in our colors. Is it not strange that I, to whom they all have been beholden; is it not like that you, to whom they all have been beholden, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken? Yes, trust them not; for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his Tyger's heart wrapt in a player's hide, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes-fac-totum, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country. O that I might entreat your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses; and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions. . . . In this I might insert two more, that both have writ against those buckram gentlemen, but let their own works serve to witness against their wickedness, if they persevere to maintain

any more such peasants. For other new comers I leave them to the mercy of these painted monsters, who I doubt will drive the best minded to despise them."

Greene was writing on his death-bed, and the base-minded men he addressed, according to Fleay, are Marlowe, Lodge and Peele, and the two more whom he might insert, he says, were Kyd and Wilson. Ingleby identifies the three as Marlowe, Nash and Peele.

Fleay says, 17: "The aim of the oft-quoted but sorely misunderstood address by Greene to his fellow dramatists *is directed against a company of players, 'burs, puppets, antics, apes, grooms, painted monsters, peasants,' etc.*, among whom is an 'upstart crow', etc. *This is palpably directed against Shakspere and Lord Stranges' players.* Greene says that they had been beholden to him and his fellow writers whom he addresses." The Manuscript of Greene was put into Chettle's hand for publication, and he was blamed personally for not having omitted some offensive parts. Mr. Fleay again speaks of this matter, 110, 111: "In December following, Chettle issued his *Kind Heart's Dream*, in which he apologizes for the offense given to Marlowe in the *Groatsworth of Wit*." He says, *Ingl.*, 4: "About three months since died Mr. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry bookseller's hands, among others his *Groatsworth of Wit*, in which *a letter written to divers playmakers*, is offensively by one or two of them taken. . . . With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be. The other, whom at that

time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had . . . because myself have seen his demeanor no less civil than he excellent in the quality he professes. Besides divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art." Fleay, on this, III, says: "To Peele, he makes no apology. Shakspeare was not one of those who took offence; they are expressly stated to have been two of the three authors addressed by Greene, the third (Lodge) not being in England." Why the Shakspeareans should ever have appropriated the complimentary remarks of Chettle on Marlowe to Shaksper is not clear, unless it can be explained on the general principle of grabbing everything in sight that can help the Stratford man—the principle that makes capital out of forged plays, forged signatures, forged dates of plays performed, forged statements as to the theaters Shaksper played, or owned a share, in, fraudulent letters of introduction, bogus death masks, spurious portraits (*vide* Rolfe's Shakespeare, the Boy, for one), etc., etc. These words of Chettle referring to Marlowe, have been time and again quoted triumphantly by the Shaksperolaters as evidence that William Shaksper had a facetious grace in writing; that he was reported on by divers of worship for his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty.

Mrs. Dall adduces it as showing that the player man "was petted and courted by the nobility." Anybody could see, one would suppose, that Greene was talking of his associate play-wrights. When he spoke of Shaksper, if Shake-scene is Shaksper, it was as a

player, a burr, ape, crow, peasant, painted monster. Mr. Fleay stated more than ten years ago (1886) that there was an entire misconception as to Chettle's language, but the recent Shakesperean writers claim Chettle's testimony, as if Mr. Fleay had never existed, and as if, moreover, the words of Greene and Chettle were not accessible to all inquirers. Let the believers that Shaksper was reported on by divers of worship produce an invitation to dinner, or to house, from any one of worship, or not of worship, for that matter, any gentleman or reputable citizen—the briefest form would do; or any letter in which the writer says he has seen, or met, or talked with, the accomplished player from the Curtain or the Globe, author of the wonderful Shakespeare plays now astonishing the public. Where are these letters and reports of contemporaries? Echo, in her old fashion, answers where?—and there falls a dead silence.

There are thirty allusions to, or mentions of, plays, some of which cover several plays, as that of Francis Meres, presently to be quoted, who gives the names of twelve in one paragraph, but without a word of comment; also that of William Drummond, who names three; of Simon Forman, three (or plays with similar names); and Lord Treasurer Stanhope, five. Often the allusions are very obscure, and not one of the thirty carries a thought of the author of the plays. As an example, Thomas Acherley, 1602, p. 52:

Whilst that my glory midst the clouds was hid,
Like to a jewel in an Ethiop's ear;

the allusion being supposed to be to Romeo and Juliet

—but perhaps to an older play of that name than Shakspeare's. On p. 114, Anonymous: "Sir John Falstaff robbed with a bottle of sack".

Of obscure reference, p. 101:

The Cross his stage was, and he played the part,
Of one that for his friend, did pawn his heart.

The one being supposed to be Antonio in the Merchant of Venice.

So, p. 107:

And if it proves so happy as to please,
We'll say 't is fortunate, like Pericles;

the reference being supposed to be to the Shakespeare play of Pericles, though there was another Pericles play. There is not in one of the allusions to plays or poems, or both together, any more than the mention by name of certain of the works or praises of them. There is nothing that speaks of the author as any one known to the writer, nor is there a word that connects poems or plays with the player Shaksper. If any one supposed, up to 1623, that player and author were the same person, he does not say so, and the fact that no one said so is warrant for believing that no one thought so. The myth had not got a start. Thus, p. 16, John Weever, 1595: "Honie-tong'd Shakspeare, when I saw thine issue", etc. Or Francis Meres, p. 21, 1598: "As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, Hesiod, etc., and the Latin language by Virgil, Ovid, etc., so the English language is mightily enriched . . . by Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Shake-speare, Marlowe, Chapman, etc.

"As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweete, wittie, soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare: witness his Venus and Adonis," etc.

This sort of eulogy does not give one shred of help to settle the question of the authorship of the Shakespeare poems and plays.

Suppose that a writer of 1858 had thus expressed himself: "As the Greek tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, etc., and the Latin tongue by Virgil, Ovid, etc., so is the English tongue mightily enriched by Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot," the latter being the *nom de plume* of an author of that period, whose personality was unknown. "George Eliot" was a name, nothing more, and "William Shakespeare" was a name and nothing more. To say that William Shakespeare and George Eliot had enriched the English tongue means simply that their works deserve the highest praise. In neither was there a thought of the author, the individual; the thought was of the works alone. To claim that such a mention of George Eliot connects or identifies that name with a low comedian or minstrel of that period, whose name chanced to be George Eliot, or Elyot, and is proof that the comedian was the author of the *Mill on the Floss*, and *Adam Bede*, would manifestly be absurd. Just so, to claim that the mention of Meres, Barnfeild, Harvey and others—all to the works of William Shakespeare, with no thought of the individual, connects that author with William Shaksper the player, is no less absurd.

Another is Edmund Bolton, 1610, p. 91: ". . . For-

asmuch as the people's judgments are uncertain, the books out of which we gather the most warrantable English. are not many to my remembrance. . . . But among the chief, or rather the chief, are in my opinion, these: Sir Thomas More's works, George Chapman's first seven books of Iliades, Samuel Daniel, Michael Drayton his Heroical Epistles of England, Marlowe his excellent fragment of Hero and Leander, Shakespeare, Mr. Francis Beaumont and innumerable other writers for the stage." Here is no intimation that the player is the writer of the plays. The name Shakespeare is cited as one of the authors "out of whom we gather the most warrantable English"; and that is right, for from the Shakespeare plays are certainly to be gathered that thing.

Another is Thomas Freeman, 1614, p. 106:

Shakespeare, that nimble Mercury, thy brain,
 Lulls many hundred Argus-eyes asleep,
 So fit, for all thou fashionest thy vein,
 At the horse-foote fountain thou hast drunk full deep,
 Virtues or vices, these to thee all one is;
 Who loves chaste life, there is Lucrece for a teacher;
 Who list read lust, there's Venus and Adonis.
 Besides in plays thy wit winds like Meander;
 Whence needy new-composers borrow more
 Than Terence doth from Plautus or Meander.
 But to praise thee aright I want thy store;
 Then let thine own works thine own worth upraise,
 And help t' adorne thee with deserved bays."

What this has to do with William Shaksper, I do not see. It is evident however, that Freeman held the author of Venus and Adonis to have written plays, not specified, and he judged correctly. That

author was Marlowe, and he wrote Edward III, and many other plays.

Ingleby well says: "The absence of sundry great names with which no pains of research, scrutiny, or study, could connect the most trivial allusion to the bard or his works (such *e. g.*, as Lord Brooke, Lord Bacon, Selden, Sir John Beaumont, Henry Vaughan, and Lord Clarendon) is *tacitly* significant, the iteration of the same vapid and affected compliments, couched in conventional terms, from writers of the first two periods, (1598-1643) comparing Shakespeare's "tongue", "pen", or "vein", to silver, honey, sugar, or nectar, while they ignore his greater and distinguishing qualities, is *expressly* significant. It is plain, for one thing, that the bard of our admiration was unknown to the men of that age". Preface.

And again: "*Assuredly, no one during the Centurie had any suspicion that the genius of Shakespeare was unique, and that he was sui generis, i. e., the only exemplar of his species. Those who ranked him very high compared him to Spenser, Sydney, Chapman, Jonson, Fletcher, and even lesser lights, and most of the judges of the time assigned the first place to one of them*". Note this remarkable admission by Dr. Ingleby, that during the hundred years from the appearance of the Shakespeare plays, no one had discovered that the genius of "William Shakespeare", was unique, or even suspected it. The plays had achieved no special reputation, and as the Dr. says, by most of the judges they were ranked below the productions of several other authors. It seems impossible in the light of to-day that this could have been so, but the Centurie

of Prayse substantiates Ingleby's assertion, and there is no gainsaying it.

We do not need to be told, that the *Venus and Adonis* is mellifluous, or that *Love's Labour's Lost* is excellent for the stage. Dr. Ingleby might as well bring authorities to prove that Elizabeth was a well-known queen. We have the poems and plays, and can judge of their quality ourselves. But this is what a large part of the Doctor's references tell, and nothing more. No one disputes the fact that these works appeared between 1587 and 1623, and there was no need of citing a multitude of witnesses to that matter. What we do want to know is, who was William Shakespeare, the author of these plays, for that the name concealed his personality is manifest. We know that he was the son of a gentleman, and brought up as a gentleman; that he had a thorough education; that he had studied and traveled abroad; that he owned or had access to all books, ancient or modern—because, as Dr. Baynes says of the *Venus and Adonis*, and its author's profound classical education, the plays themselves give evidence of all these things. We should have liked to see him in his privacy, working at one of these plays, should have liked to hear him talk, should have been delighted at reading a letter from his hand. If Drs. Ingleby and Furnivall, or Miss Smith, had given us something of this sort, there would have been sense in these references. Here were plays coming out rapidly for thirty-six years, 1587–1623, master-pieces in literature. During the first twenty-nine, or from 1587–1616, there are, according to Ingleby, 65 mentions of

.

or allusions to the poems and plays (some so obscure that it takes a keen scented Shakespearean to discover them), and but thirty of these to the plays alone in all contemporary literature, or in journals, notebooks ("an age of common place books", H.-P. I, 275), records and correspondence. That makes, counting everything cited by Ingleby and Miss Smith, good, bad, or indifferent, scarcely more than two mentions per year to both poems and plays, or to author Shakespeare by name, and but one mention per year of the plays. Counting the twenty-one Fresh Allusions given by Furnivall for the same period, there are less than two mentions of the plays per year. As I have before said, two or more plays are sometimes included in one of Ingleby's mentions, and separating them, in such cases, there are 88 mentions or references to single plays. Thus;

Richard III, in the 29 years, is spoken of.....	9	times.
Hamlet, and Romeo and Juliet, each,.....	8	"
The Comedy of Errors, Henry IV, Part 2nd, Love's		
Labour's Lost, Richard II, each,.....	5	"
Henry IV. Part I, Julius Cæsar, Pericles, each,...	4	"
Henry VI, Merchant of Venice, Macbeth, Tem-		
pest, Titus Andronicus, Winter's Tale, each,....	3	"
Cymbeline, King John, Midsummer Night's Dream,		
each,.....	2	"
Henry V, Much Ado About Nothing, Taming of		
the Shrew, Troilus and Cressida, Twelfth Night,		
Antony and Cleopatra, Love's Labour's Won,		
(All's Well, etc.) each,.....	1	"

That is, what is supposed to have been the most popular Shakespeare play, Richard III, in 29 years is spoken of but nine times, or once in three years;

Hamlet and Romeo, but eight times; Love's Labour's Lost, the first play of the series, but four times, or once in seven years; Merchant of Venice and Macbeth, once in nearly ten years; Henry V, supposed to have been amazingly popular, but once in the whole period. This is a very singular state of things. Plays alleged by Phillipps to have taken the town by storm, "to have been the talk of the town", as if every soul were hurrying to the Curtain or the Globe, or discussing these wonderful things, are found to have been spoken of or alluded to in all contemporaneous literature on an average of the whole, about three times in twenty-nine years. I have been astonished at the results of an examination of the *Centurie of Prayse*. I had supposed that "William Shakespeare", though writing under an assumed name, and personally unknown, was not without honor in his own age; that all literary England had recognized the rising of a great dramatist, and that he soon took his place as the brightest star in the dramatic constellation. Far from it. No one observed the rising, no one cared for the plays, or gave a thought to their author. There is not a hint in Ingleby or Furnivall that any one considered it worth while to inquire who was writing under the name "William Shakespeare." Apparently these plays attracted no more attention in England than if they had appeared in a foreign country. Collectively, they were never spoken of. It is true that Francis Meres, 1598, enumerated twelve plays by name, which were attributed to "Shakespeare", but two, if not three, of them were written by Marlowe, and able critics assign others to different authors. To say that

a play was "Shakespeare's", in 1598, was equivalent to saying that it was written by a club of play-wrights, who chose to be hidden under a sobriquet.

All mentions are of the separate plays, and they might have been written by as many different authors, for all that has come down to us. No one ever wrote, "the author of *Romeo and Juliet* has written a new play, called *Midsummer Night's Dream*", etc., but each play is spoken of as if it had no connection with any other. This condition obtained till the plays were collected and published in the Folio of 1623. Until that year, there were no "works" of William Shakespeare.

It is clear enough that separately or collectively, the Shakespeare plays, up to 1616, had no reputation at all—that they were unknown. So Dr. Ingleby says: "It is plain that the bard of our admiration was unknown to the men of that age"; and this bard certainly did not set people talking about him or his plays. Fleay says: "Allusions to his works will be found collected in Dr. Ingleby's *Centurie of Prayse*; but they consist almost entirely of slight references. . . . Neither as addressed to him by others, nor by him to others, do any commendatory verses exist in connection with any of his or any other men's works published in his life-time." That is to say, he never wrote a line in praise of the works of a contemporary, and no contemporary wrote a line in praise of his works, before 1623. Certainly, a surprising fact! As I said before, Shakespeare, author of the plays—not the player—was without honor in

his own age; nobody cared for the plays, or thought them worth notice.

Many persons have wondered that Francis Bacon should not have spoken of, or seemed to know, a contemporary whose writings were steeped in his own philosophy, particularly as every other literary man of his time in England is mentioned in his correspondence, or his published works. But Ingleby proves incontrovertibly, that nobody observed or appreciated the plays, and this being so, there was no reason why Bacon should speak of works or writer. If in a future century, searching all literature between 1850 and 1890, the name and works of Alfred Tennyson should be discovered as spoken of but once or twice a year, it would argue himself and works unknown. Just so with Shakespeare and his plays. It was only after many years, and after several generations of men had passed away, that they came to have the reputation they have to-day.

Dr. Ingleby's book was undertaken solely to try and make a case for the Stratford man, to father the poems and plays on him. And what success has he met with? For twenty-five years, this man was engaged at his trade in London and the provinces (1587-1616), and three of his contemporaries in all these years are found to have spoken of him, and no man ever spoke of him a second time. One said he was a hunk; one tells a tale which shows him to have been an adulterer; a third says he would have been a decent fellow had he not been a player. That makes one mention of him every nine years and eight months. Nineteen years after his death, and twenty-five after his return to

Stratford, one old man bethinks him that he used to call the player Will, and that he had an enchanting quill that commanded mirth or passion, and was a mellifluous fellow. Had Heywood testified that this was the man who wrote *Twelfth Night* or *Lear*, we should know a good deal more than we do now. To say that he had an enchanting quill, because the writer needed a word to rhyme with Will, carries no meaning with it, nor does it to say that he was mellifluous. Probably Heywood meant that the player was a delightful and persuasive fellow when he had wet his whistle. And yet this mention by Heywood is interpreted by the willing Shaksperolaters to mean that here at last is a certificate to Shaksper's authorship of the Shakespeare plays. "He was a mellifluous fellow, and I will say, in order to get the proper rhyme, that he had an enchanting quill." That means, (it appears) that Shaksper wrote *Lear* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Suppose we grant that the player ever learned to write, and got so far that he could use a quill, an accomplishment which I deny that he ever possessed, may not Heywood have had in mind the *Hog in Armour*, or the *Comedy of George-a-Green*? Where does a Shakespeare play come in? The last of the plays just mentioned, was printed as done "by William Shakespeare", and up to the issue of the Folio, there was as much reason for attributing it to Shakespeare as *Hamlet*, or *Lear*.

The three references given above are all that Dr. Ingleby has been able to find from 1587 to 1616, relating to the player. Halliwell-Phillipps believes, however, that there is another reference to the man, not

given by Ingleby, thus: "In May, 1602, the dramatist bought from William and John Combe for £320, one hundred and seven acres of land near Stratford-on-Avon." Halliwell-Phillipps says "it may have been that this acquisition is referred to by Crosse in his *Vertues Commonwealth*, 1603, when he speaks thus ungenerously of the actors and dramatists of the period; as 'these copper-laced gentlemen growe rich, purchase lands by adulterous plays—and not a few of them usurers and extortioners which they exhaust out of the purses of their haunters,' " etc., etc.

We can trust the judgment of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, and doubtless here is another contemporary testimony, though not found in Ingleby nor Furnivall, to the character of the man Shaksper.

Venus and Adonis had appeared in 1593, and *Lucrece* a year after. The authorities agree that in Elizabeth's day poets above all others honored a language, while writers of plays were very low company. Fleay says: "The writing of poems was fit work for a prince, but of plays was only congruous with strolling vagabondism"; and Phillipps tells us that the writers of plays stood very close to the level of buffoons and tumblers. The Shakespeare poems at once excited interest, and edition after edition poured from the press, always bearing the name of "William Shakespeare". How comes it then that John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law, recording in his diary that naughty story of player Shakespere, should not have mentioned him as the writer of the splendid poems which all the world has read or is reading, and should consider it necessary to

append to the entry "Shakespere's name William"; as if one should enter in a note-book "Scott's name Walter", "Burns' name Robert"! In penning the name Shakespere, the writer's thought would turn naturally to the well-known poet; and player and poet would have been associated in his mind. The fact is, there exists no evidence that any man of that generation thought player Shaksper, or "Shakespere", as Manningham wrote it, was the individual whose name, "William Shakespeare", stood on the title pages of the poems. Had the literary public known that the great poet was a hireling at the Curtain, compelled to prance in "Kempe's jigges" before an ignorant public theater audience to earn his daily bread (see charming cut of Kempe, before given), curiosity would have made cultivated persons eager to get a sight of him, and many an offer of assistance and place would have been urged on him. Great noblemen would have contended for him, Elizabeth would have provided for him, and the records of the time would have repeatedly spoken of William Shakespeare. There is nothing of the kind; Manningham, in effect, says: "I heard a good story the other day of a player-fellow named Shakespere; who he is I know not except that his christian name is William, and he hangs out at the Curtain."

William Shakespeare, the poet and play-wright, was unknown to the men of that age. Dr. Ingleby is at the pains to tell us so emphatically, although ten editions of the poems, bearing his name on the title page, were launched upon the country between 1593 and 1616. Nobody knew who Shakespeare was; no-

body had seen him or was reported as having talked with him. His personality was as impenetrable as later was that of Junius.

But, on the contrary, William Shaksper, the player, was well known to certain classes of the men of that age, and Ingleby's remarks have no application to him. For a score of years, he had been as conspicuous in connection with the theaters as were Kempe and Tarleton. He had repeatedly strolled with his company through every shire in England. The only possible conclusion is that this player Shaksper was not known as the author of the poems or plays. Had he been, there is no conceivable reason for making a mystery of the matter. According to his admirers, he thought no more of the plays he wrote than the turtle does of the eggs which it lays in the sand. He tossed them off as the need of the theater demanded, and left them to shift for themselves.

After player Shaksper's death, in 1616, there is scarcely a mention of him extant by any one who had known him personally. No cultivated gentleman had cared to make the acquaintance of a man whose despised life profession put him on the level with jugglers, tumblers and buffoons, even were there no other reason. What mentions there are, are almost exclusively contained in the elegiac and eulogistic prose or verse prefixed to the First Folio, by order of the printers, and again to the 2nd Folio, in 1632. The writers in the two cases were in part the same. They all seemed to claim that player and author were one individual. For reasons, presently given (Ch. XI),

this entire mass of testimony is worthless, and deserves no consideration.

In 1622, William Basse, (Ingleby, 136) wrote the following lines: "On Mr. William Shakespeare; he died in April, 1616".

Another elegiac effusion:

"Sleep, rare Tragediau, Shakespeare, sleep alone,
Thy unmolested peace, unshared cave
Possess as Lord, not tenant, of thy grave,
That unto us and others it may be
Honor hereafter to be laid by thee."

Certainly there is no light here on the authorship of the plays. "Tragedian" is the appellation of a tragic actor, as the tragedian Booth. Ingleby, 3, makes it the equivalent of "Shake-scene" of Greene's diatribe, and for illustration he quotes Jonson's line from the preface to the First Folio (as before stated in Chap. VI):

"to hear thy Buskin tread
And *shake* a Stage."

Also a passage from The Puritaine, 1607: "Have you never seen a stalking-stamping Player, that will raise a tempest with his tounge and *thunder* with his heels?" There is no reason to suppose that Basse meant anything more than a compliment to the departed player—as a player.

In Sir Richard Baker's "Chronicle of the Kings of England . . . unto the Death of King James", 1643, is a list of men of note in Elizabeth's time ("the ocean is not more boundless than the number of men of note of her time") the statesmen, soldiers, naval commanders and sailors, orators, men of learning, writers, poets, theologians, etc., etc., but among

the poets is no such name as William Shakespeare. The chronicler appends to his list this sentence: "After such men it might be thought ridiculous to speak of stage-players; but seeing excellency in the meanest thing deserves remembering . . . it may be allowed to", etc. He then mentions Richard Burbage, and Edward Allen as "such actors as no age must ever look to see the like;" and Richard Tarleton for the clown's part "never had his match, never will have." "For writers of plays, and such as have been players themselves, William Shakespeare and Benjamin Jonson have especially left their names remembered to posterity."

Spoken thirty-two years after William Shaksper left the Globe Theater, this is feeble and wholly inadequate testimony as to that man's authorship of the Shakespeare plays. Baker may have accepted the assurances of the Folio that the player wrote these plays, but he knew nothing of him as the author of the *Venus and Adonis*, or the *Sonnets*. He overlooks the poet completely, and, apologizing for mentioning so mean a thing as a stage-player, of whom it might be thought "ridiculous to speak", introduces Shaksper along with Burbage and the clown, Tarleton. Of the William Shakespeare of the *Venus and Adonis* Baker knew nothing at all.

This is all that any one said after the player's death. There are, however, plenty of testimonies to Shaksper in his business capacity, as the trader, money-lender, the litigant, the rich man, but in a literary capacity, there is nothing. And yet there have been multitudes of men and women who have worked like beavers to

make this ignorant strolling player to be the author of the greatest and the most learned works of imagination and philosophy in the language; men and women, who had they met the man on the London streets, in 1597, or at any time, would have scorned to touch his hand, or to be known as his acquaintance.

The conclusion of the whole matter is, that not one of player Shaksper's contemporaries testified in print or in correspondence, that he, Shaksper, was the author of these works. "He was unknown to the men of that age"; a significant fact. According to the modern view, he spent more than twenty years in writing the most wonderful poems and plays poet ever put his hand to, and not an allusion in contemporary literature tells the future generations that he was known as an author at all. Jonson was known as an author, as were Beaumont, Greene, Marlowe, and scores of others, and there is abundant contemporary testimony to every one of these; but no one knew and testified that William Shaksper, one of the most prolific authors then living, if he really wrote the Shakespeare plays, was an author at all. The fact is, the theory that William Shaksper wrote the poems and plays originated after his death, and developed in the following century, regardless of evidence and possibility.

Mr. T. W. White believes that Dr. Ingleby has omitted from his *Centurie two* of the most important allusions to player Shaksper in contemporary authors, one of which is to be found in the *Return from Parnassus*, 1604. H.-P., I, 212, tells us that "it was on the 15th of March, 1604, that James undertook his

formal march from the Tower to Westminster. . . . In the royal train were the nine actors to whom the special license had been granted the previous year, including of course Shakespeare" (Shaksper) "and his three friends, Burbage, Heminge and Condell. Each of them were presented with four yards and a half of scarlet cloth, the usual dress allowance to players belonging to the household." It is believed that this affair is referred to in the Return from Parnassus here given:

"Better it is among fiddlers to be chief,
 Than at a player's trencher beg relief.
 But is 't not strange those mimic apes should prize
 Unhappy scholars at a hireling's rate?
 Vile world, that lifts them up to high degree,
 But treads us down in grovelling misery.
 England affords *those glorious vagabonds*
That carried erst their fardels on their backs,
 Coursers to ride on through the gazing streets,
 Sooping it in their glaring satin suits,
 And pages to attend their masterships.
With mouthing words that better wits have framed
They purchase lands, and now esquires are made."

Reed says (43): "No other actor (than Shaksper) is known at that time to have possessed large landed estates, or aspired to any mark of social distinction."

The other allusion is found in Ben Jonson's Epigram on Poet-Ape, Moxon's Jonson, p. 669. Mr. White's theory is that manager Shaksper bought plays of poor authors exactly as his contemporary, manager Henslowe, did, as is certainly known; also employed poor play-wrights to revise and re-write old plays, as Henslowe did; and in both cases passed them off as his own,

as Henslowe did not. Hence the appropriateness of the Poet-Ape:

“Poor Poet-Ape, that would be thought our chief,
Whose works are e’en the frippery of wit,
From brokage is become so bold a thief
As we, the robbed, leave rage, and pity it.
At first he made low shifts, would pick and glean,
Buy the reversion of old plays; now grown
To a little wealth, and credit in the scene,
He takes up all, makes each man’s wit his own;
And, told of this, he slights it. Tut, such crimes
The sluggish gaping auditor devours;
He marks not whose ’t was first: *and after-times*
May judge it to be his, as well as ours.
Fool! As if half eyes will not know a fleece,
From locks of wool, or from the whole piece.”

Both Mr. T. W. White and Mr. Edwin Reed discover evidences of the existence of some great imposture on the stage, during Shaksper’s career. “Our age doth produce many such, one of the greatest being a stage-player, a man with sufficient ingenuity for imposition.” *Confessio Fraternitalis*; chap. xii; anonymous, circa 1615. Jonson’s Poet-Ape:

“Now grown
To a little wealth and credit in the scene,
He takes up all, makes each man’s wit his own,” etc.

The Return from Parnassus:

“With mouthing words that better wits have framed,
They purchase lands, and now esquires are made.”

RATSIE’S GHOST.—“Thou shalt learn to be frugal . . . to feed upon all men; and when thou feelest thy purse well-lined, buy thee some place in the country.”

Mr. Alexander B. Grosart, in "Green Pastures, being Choice Extracts from the works of Robert Greene", London, 1894, says: "We are so used to idolatrize Shakespeare . . . that we shirk inquiring into his relations with his precursors and contemporaries. I, for one, feel satisfied that fuller knowledge of these would prove that for years, when feeling his way upward, Shakespeare was a very buccaneer in spoiling the Egyptians, or metaphorically in turning to his own account the manuscript writings of unfortunate contemporaries who were constrained to write for the theaters." Mr. Grosart, by the way, believes the Stratford man was the real William Shakespeare, and his opinion of him is scarcely better than Jonson's of the poet-ape.

Judge Stotsenburg, (Ind. News, 7th Apr., 1897) makes the point that as William Shaksper could not write, he could not have been the Ape referred to. There seems to me nothing in Jonson's lines that necessarily implies the ability in the Ape to personally write anything. It is apparently enough that he could get his writing done by other men, who "could pick and glean" or that he could "buy the reversion of old plays". In one way or another the Ape got plays out of other men, and passed them off for his own; this was the gist of his offense.

Greene had written of "Fair Em", an anonymous production attributed to Shakespeare: "The ass is made proud by this underhand brokery. And he that cannot write true English without the help of clerks of parish churches, will needs make himself the father of interludes."

After 1623, it would seem natural that the name of "William Shakespeare", as the author of the Folio, should be oftener in men's thoughts than it had before been, but, on examining Ingleby for references between 1623 and 1632, it is clear that it is not so. In the nine years there are but seventeen mentions of man or works. During the same period, I find in Furnivall no mention of the man, and but seven, all trivial, of the works.

In illustration: Sir Herbert's Office Book, Ing., p. 157, mentions two of the plays as having been performed at Whitehall in 1623 and 1624. In 1627, he enters the sum of £5 as having been received from Mr. Heminge in the company's name, for forbidding the playing of "Shakespeare's plays," to the Red Bull Company. What plays they were is not stated, but the Globe Company appears to have had rights in some of the Shakespeare plays. As I have noted elsewhere (Chap. XIII), it is a curious fact, that in all this literature, no single play is identified as Shakespeare's, as in this Office Book, we read of Shakespeare plays, but never of a play, as Shakespeare's Hamlet, Twelfth Night, etc.

P. 159, 1524, says of a certain sort of people that they are "like Hamlet's Ghost."

P. 160, 1624, also speaks of Hamlet's Ghost, and, by name only, of Pyramus and Thisbe.

P. 161, 1624, speaks of Venus and Adonis, and also of Benedick and Beatrice.

P. 164, 1625, "A young Gentle Lady, having read the works of Shakespeare" (the Folio) "made me this question"—about Falstaff and Sir John Oldcastle.

P. 186, Drayton, 1627:

“Shakespeare, thou hast as smooth a comic vein
Fitting the sock and in thy natural brain
As strong conception, and as clear a rage
As any one that trafficked with the stage.”

Referring to the author of the plays, whoever he was.

Cowley, 1628: p. 170:

. . . “may be
By his Father in his study took
At Shakespeare’s plays”, etc.

One of the few mentions of the Folio.

P. 172, B. Jonson, 1629, calls *Pericles* a “mouldy tale”:

. . . “and stale
As the Shrieves crusts, and nasty as his fish-
Scraps out of every dish
Thrown forth and raked into the common tub,
May keep up the Play-club:
There, sweepings do as well
As the best ordered meal,” etc.

Not very complimentary to the author of that play.

P. 174, same, 1630-1637, as to Shakespeare’s never blotting a line—which I speak of in the next chapter.

P. 181, 1630, Anon: in a jest book, tells of an odd epitaph in the church-yard, at Stratford-on-Avon, “a town most remarkable for the birth of famous William Shakespeare.”

P. 176, John Milton, 1630: “An Epitaph on the admirable Dramaticke Poet, W. Shakespeare.”

"What need my Shakespeare for his honor'd bones
 The labor of an Age, in piled stones,
 Or that his hallowed Reliques should be hid
 Under a starre-y pointing Pyramid?
 Dear Sonne of Memory, great Heire of Fame
 What needst thou such dull witness to thy name?
 Thou in our wonder and astonishment
 Hast built thyself a lasting monument:
 For whilst . . .
 Thy easie numbers flow, and that each heart,
 From the leaves of thy unvalued Booke
 Those Delphicke lines with deep Impression tooke,
 Then thou our fancy of herselfe bereaving
 Dost make us marble with too much conceiving,
 And so Sepulchred in such pomp doth lie
 That Kings for such a Tombe would wish to die."

"Milton's meaning is this: Every heart by the plastic power of fancy takes deep impression of Shakespeare's lines. Then, by deprivation of fancy, we are turned to marble, and we thus become an inscribed monument to Shakespeare." Ingleby. He is so impressed on reading the plays in the Folio, that he thinks the dramatic poet W. Shakespeare needs no piled stones, the labor of an age, and no star-pointing pyramid. It is the old thought—*Exegi monumentum*, etc. All cultivated men to-day will agree with Milton that the man who wrote the Shakespeare plays needs no other monument to keep his memory alive. Milton knew nothing of player Shaksper. He was a baby when that man left London for Stratford, and but seven when the player died. But he knew the poet Shakespeare from the Folio, and hence his Epitaph.

In L'Allegro (1632) Milton has these lines :

"Then to the well-trod stage anon
If Jonson's learned sock be on,
Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child
Warble his native wood-notes wild."

On this Dr. Morgan says: "We take this to mean that the poet, when in his *L'Allegro* mood, will, among other delights, go to the theater to hear a learned play of Jonson's, or some of Shakespeare's sweet wood-notes. But to show how uncritical the whole passage is, we have only to ask where in Shakespeare are we to look for 'native wood-notes wild'; such wood-notes as are sounded are not wild, but most classically timed and measured". "No poet was ever less a warbler of 'wood-notes wild'." Walter Savage Landor.

Milton never saw a play acted in a London theater. "The play-house was abhorred by the Puritans, and avoided by those who desired the character of seriousness and decency. A grave lawyer would have debased his dignity, and a young trader would have impaired his credit by appearing in these mansions of licentiousness." Dr. Johnson.

Halliwell-Phillipps, I, 118, gives the *L'Allegro* quotation as a proof that Shaksper was believed to have written the plays by inspiration: "That Shakespeare wrote without effort, by inspiration, not by design, was, so far as it has been recorded, the unanimous belief of his contemporaries and immediate successors", instancing Milton's line above given as evidence that one of his immediate successors thought

the manager of the Globe inspired.* Whom else of all Shaksper's contemporaries, Mr. Phillipps has in view, he does not tell us, and there is no clue to their names in Ingleby or Furnivall. I fear the unanimous belief of both contemporaries and successors must be restricted to the single successor, John Milton, who was no contemporary, and the man who could say so little, while meaning so much, could have voiced the answers of the Delphian Apollo.

These, and four notices of plays, or of Venus and Adonis, are all the mentions up to the issue of the 2nd Folio, 1632. Of the seventeen, two are of plays acted, by title; eight refer to single plays, without title, or to Venus and Adonis; and only six mention Shakespeare's name. That William Shakespeare, whether the name be applied to the author or the player, after the issue of the 1st Folio, should be spoken of but six times in nine years, shows that the Folio had not gained much ground, and that there was little interest in either plays or author. The Prefatory Address and eulogies of the Folio were probably beginning to take effect, but still, up to 1632, not a soul testified that the Shakespeare plays were one whit superior to those of Beaumont, Jonson, Daniel, and a score of others.

It must be constantly borne in mind that no educated or cultured man up to 1623 knew who player

* Even Richard Grant White said: "He had as much deliberate purpose in his breathing as in his play-writing". *Studies in Shakespeare*, 209. We have before seen that Mr. White thinks the plays written simply to fill the theater and the man's pocket. Truly a worthy object of inspiration!

Shaksper was, any more than who author "Shakespeare" was; one was as much unknown to the reading world as the other. The Folio claimed that the author and player were one, and nobody seemed to care whether they were or not.

Ingleby's third period runs from 1632 to 1642. I might go on and analyze his references for this ten years, but the result would be the same as before. Shakespeare, Beaumont and others continue to be classed together, and single plays, or Venus and Adonis, are now and then mentioned. One author, Heywood, p. 202, apostrophizes "mellifluous Shakespeare", etc., meaning player Shaksper, and of this I have spoken. On p. 209, Sir John Suckling says: "My friend, Mr. William Shakespeare, makes Henry Hotspur quarrel", etc., referring to the Folio. The expression "my friend" could have no reference to the player, for Suckling was but a child when the Player died, and of course, had no acquaintance with him.

So far as can be discovered, up to 1642, the reputation of the plays, twice published in Folio, had not advanced one particle. They were scarcely ever acted, and people were forgetting all about them. Then came the Commonwealth, when play-acting was forbidden by law, and at the Restoration, in 1660, the Shakespeare Plays had become antiquated, and offended the taste of the new generation of play-goers.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST FOLIO.

To return to the First Folio, and the elegiac verses prefixed to it, signed B. J. and Ben Jonson, (Ing. 47). Jonson, later in life, in his published works, speaks of player Shaksper, but what he said was entirely out of accord with the expressions given in these verses. The latter are entitled:

“To the memory of my beloved, the author, Mr. William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us.”

“To draw no envy, Shakespeare, on thy name
Am I thus ample to thy books and fame;
While I confess thy writings to be such
As neither man nor Muse can praise too much.
’Tis true, and all men’s suffrage.”

Evidently this last clause means that the plays of Shakespeare are beyond praise, and this was the general opinion of them in 1623, (“all men’s suffrage”).

“I therefore will begin: *Soul of the Age*
The applause, delight and wonder of our stage:
My Shakespeare rise: I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lie
A little further to make thee a room.
Thou art a monument without a tomb,
Thou art alive still while thy books do live
And we have wits to read and praise to give.

*For though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek,
 From thence to honor thee I would not seek
 For names; but call forth thundering Æschylus,
 Euripides and Sophocles to us,
 Pacuvius, Accius, him of Cordova dead,
 To life again to hear thy buskin tread,
 And shake a stage; or, when thy socks were on
 Leave thee alone for the comparison
 Of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome
 Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.
 Triumph, my Britain, thou hast one to show
 To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe,
 He was not for an age, but for all time.*

Nature herself was proud of her designs,
 And joyed to wear the dressing of his lines
 Which were so richly spun and woven so fit
 As, since she will vouchsafe no other wit,
 The merry Greek, tart Aristophanes,
 Neat Terence, witty Plautus, now not please
 But antiquated and deserted lie
 As if they were not of Nature's family.
*Yet I must not give Nature all; thy art
 My gentle Shakespeare, must enjoy a part;
 For though the poet's matter nature be,
 His art doth give the fashion; and that he
 Who casts to write a living life must sweat
 (Such as thine are) and strike the second heat
 Upon the Muse's anvil; turn the same
 (And himself with it), that he thinks to frame
 Or for the laurel he may gain a scorn,
 For a good poet's made, as well as born;
 And such wert thou: Look how the father's face
 Lives in his issue, even so the race
 Of Shakespeare's mind and manners brightly shines
 In his well-turned and true-filed lines
 In each of which he seems to shake a lance
 As brandished at the eyes of Ignorance,*

Sweet Swan of Avon, what a sight it were
To see thee on our waters yet appear!

Shine forth thou Star of Poets, and with rage,
Or influence chide or cheer the drooping stage,
Which, since thy flight from hence, hath mourned like night
And despairs day, but for thy volumes light'.

Dr. Ingleby ponders over this glowing tribute, and appropriating it to Shaksper, remarks: "One could wish that Ben had said all this in Shakespeare's" (Shaksper's) "lifetime".

It is certain that William Shaksper was not one of Jonson's beloved, and more, that during a considerable part of the careers of these men, and especially the last part, they were at variance. Fleay, 31, says: "No intercourse can be shown between Shakespeare and Jonson after 1603". On p. 81: "It is to be hoped that these two great dramatists were not at open enmity during the latter part of Shakespeare's life, but all record of any real friendship between them ends in 1603, *and little value is to be attributed* either to the vague traditions of Jonson's visiting him at Stratford (1616) or *to the abundant praises lavished on him by Jonson in commendatory verses after his death.*" Jonson was always impecunious, and always ready to undertake any literary job. The syndicate of printers who published the Folio (with no authority from the representatives of the late William Shaksper, ex-proprietor of the Globe theater), wanted an eulogistic prefatory address in verse, and got it.

Who wrote the Shakespeare plays, the world knows not yet. Scarcely an earnest effort has been made to

ascertain the truth, and then mainly by those who attribute the authorship to Francis Bacon. The vast majority of literary men have been content hitherto to accept the traditional authorship of William Shaksper, who could not possibly have written one page of manuscript. But many distinguished Shakespearean scholars have not hesitated to assign parts of several of these plays, and whole plays, to another author than the one always in mind when the name "Shakespeare" is spoken, that is, the man who wrote Hamlet. Thus Fleay, 280, says: "That the play of Titus Andronicus is not by Shakespeare is pretty certain from internal evidence." He thinks "the opinion that Kyd wrote the play worth the examination, although with such evidence as has as yet been adduced, Marlowe has certainly the better claim."

On p. 257, he expresses the opinion that Henry VIII is chiefly by Fletcher and Massinger; on 255, that 1 Henry VI was written by Peele, Marlowe and others; on 209, that 2d Henry VI was by Marlowe, Greene, Kyd and Peele; and 3d Henry VI was by Marlowe; on 278, that Richard III was by Marlowe, but left incomplete at his death; on 242, that Timon of Athens unquestionably contains much matter by other hands; on 233, that Macbeth contains one scene, 11, 5, which is not by Shakespeare; on 224, that very little of the Shrew is Shakespeare's. Mr. Fleay considers the name "Shakespeare" as that of an individual, yet, as appears, holds that a considerable portion of the plays attributed to him in the Folio, and warranted by Heminge and Condell to be the work of

their fellow, William Shaksper, of Stratford, was the work of several other authors.

Professor Wendell in these matters generally agrees with Fleay; on p. 345, he says: "In both *Timon* and *Pericles* there is much matter believed not to be by Shakspere. . . . Just what part he had in these plays—whether he planned, or retouched, or collaborated—nobody can determine."

Judge Stotsenburg, *Ind. News*, 26 May, 1897, advance sheets of his book, "*How I sought and found Shakespeare*", has discussed at length the play of *Titus Andronicus*, and his conclusion is that, "Upon a thorough and full examination of the play, tested by the index words and phrases, I am of the opinion that Marlowe was the author." And he adds that Samuel Johnson, Hallam, Verplanck, Malone, Steevens, Boswell, Seymour and other critics and commentators were fully agreed that this play was not written by Shakespeare.

Now there are many Shakespearean students who hold "Shakespeare" to have been a collective name, standing for the work of a band, or society, or club of authors of the later Elizabethan period, who wrote singly or in collaboration, every man of them from the Universities. This accounts for the unexplained (on the single author theory) marked differences in style, words, phrases; for the vast vocabulary, preposterous, if attributed to one individual, to the proficiency in every department of knowledge, law, medicine, philosophy, and the rest; to the amalgamation and consubstantiation of the Latin and Greek languages with the native thought of the writers, etc.

From this point of view, the inclusion of Titus, the three Henry VI, Richard III, Henry VIII, Timon, and Pericles, *The Taming of a Shrew*, is understandable; from the other point of view, it is not; from this point of view, the work of Marlowe had as much right to be in the Folio, as the work of the author of *Hamlet*.

Judge Stotsenburg is on the path; for it is only by minute analysis of the several plays, and by comparison with the recognized works of different play-wrights of that period, that the real authors of any particular Shakespeare play can be discovered. Once eliminate the Stratford clown, and before long it will be known who did write these plays.*

It is fair to presume that one of the authors, at least, was living in 1623, he who wrote *Othello*. Who but one of the band could have identified the true plays, out of the many which during thirty years had gone by the name of Shakespeare? And who else

* Mr. T. W. White, author of "Our English Homer", London, 1892, is a believer in the collective authorship, and places the plays as follows:

Love's Labour's Lost to Robert Greene.

Comedy of Errors, same.

Winter's Tale, to Robert Greene, and Thomas Nash.

Midsummer Night's Dream, Geo. Peele, and Michael Drayton.

Richard III, to Christopher Marlowe.

Henry VI, 2 and 3, to Christopher Marlowe.

Hamlet, to Francis Bacon.

Romeo and Juliet, to Samuel Daniel.

As You Like It, to Thomas Lodge.

Taming of the Shrew, Samuel Daniel, or Michael Drayton.

Richard II, to same.

could have pronounced on the spurious plays? A generation had passed since these plays had begun to appear, and no living man, except one of the authors, could have known what was written. Who but one of the band, could have handed to the publishers nine plays which no one but himself or associates had ever seen or heard of; or could have got ready for printing, in 1623, as many other plays, re-written, revised, extended, which had been acted years before in some abbreviated form, but never printed.

The plays first printed in the Folio were: *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *1st Henry VI*, *All's Well That Ends Well*, *Comedy of Errors*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *Measure for Measure*, *King John*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Henry VIII*, *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Dowden says, p. 134: "The Folio is the sole authority for seventeen plays". Halliwell-Phillipps says, I, 290: "Out of the thirty-six dramas which they (Heminge and Condell) collected, one-half had never been printed in any shape". The play of *Othello* had been published in Quarto the year before (1622), entered in the Stationer's Register, in 1621; but when the Folio issued, behold *Othello* enlarged, revised and divided into acts and scenes (which had not been done in the Quarto!) Knight says of this play: "On the 6th of Oct., 1621, Thomas Walker entered at Stationer's Hall 'The Tragedie of Othello, the More of Venice'. In 1622, Walker published the edition for which he had thus claimed the copyright. It is a small Quarto. . . . The Folio edition, 1623, is regularly divided

into acts and scenes; the Quarto edition has not a single indication of any subdivision in the acts, and omits the division between Acts 2 and 3. The Folio edition contains 163 lines, which are not found in the Quarto, and these are some of the most striking in the play. The number of lines found in the Quarto, which are not in the Folio, do not amount to ten." Knight's Shakespeare, *Othello*.

Ruggles says, 579: "The ground-work of *Othello* is found in Cinthio's novel of 'The Moorish Captain', of which no translation into English is known earlier than of Parr, in 1795. The poet, no doubt, took the story from the original Italian", etc. Then that poet was not William Shaksper, and from the facts above stated, it is plain that the poet was living in 1622-3!

"Few of us dream how vast were the emendations and revisions, enlargements and corrections, of the old Shakespearean plays given to the world in this Folio of 1623. Mr. R. G. White says, that in *Love's Labour's Lost*, there are inserted new lines in almost every speech. Another, the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, according to Knight, has doubled the number of lines it originally possessed in 1600. The *Henry V* has 1900 new lines. The *Titus Andronicus* has an entire new scene; and *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *Lear*, are so altered and elaborated, with curtailments here and enlargements there as to lead Mr. Knight to declare that none but the hand of the master could have super-added them". Morgan, 234.

Yet, in 1623, player Shaksper had been dead seven years, and according to Phillipps, the facts lead ir-

resistibly to the conclusion that the poet (Shaksper) abandoned literary occupation a considerable period before his decease, and in all probability when he disposed of his theatrical property. This disposal took place in 1610-11. Therefore, if he wrote the plays, in addition to the labor so involved, he was spending the busiest years of his life, when he was strolling through the land, or living in London as player, manager, and theater proprietor, his whole soul absorbed in money-making, in the unremunerative work of first writing the original plays, then enlarging and revising them with a view to "their literary perfection", as Swinburne says; and finally, in writing a long series of grand new plays, that were not to see the light for years to come, and which he did not intend to have played in his own or any theater, but to have printed for a very different public than he had ever catered to in his life-time. All this labor had to be done before the end of 1610, and the plays deposited somewhere, so that when a posthumous edition of his works should come to be published, the printers would know where to find them in complete order for printing. The mere statement of the case is a demonstration of its impossibility. And where in the scheme does the Othello come—printed in Quarto in 1622, taken in hand by somebody, greatly enlarged and revised, divided into Acts and Scenes, and published in the Folio, 1623.

Who was living in 1622-23, who could do that work? Whoever he was, he had it in him to write the best of the Shakespeare plays.

The spurious plays are called by Symonds "Doubt-

ful Plays", and he devotes Chapter 10 to their consideration. He starts with this bold assumption, "We know that before Shakspere (meaning Stratford Shaksper) began his great series of authentic and undisputed dramas, he spent some years of strenuous activity as a journeymen for the company of players he had joined." Which was just after he had put off his butcher's apron, and had fled with his patois to London.

Now it happens that "we" do not know anything of the sort alleged by Mr. Symonds; we assume it, for the reason that in order to father the Shakespeare plays on this man, we have to get him at work—strenuous work—as soon as he reaches London. As to the proof of Mr. Symonds' assertion, there is none whatever—it comes from what Mr. Fleay calls "a mischievously fertile imagination." Mr. Symonds is puzzled with the Doubtful Plays. They are all in some respects after the style of the author of the received Shakespeare plays, and all in some respects are in the style of various other authors. Mr. Symonds thinks that the author of the Shakespeare plays may have had a hand in them, either as a restorer, or as a collaborator, or that they have been trial essays in some other veins of work abandoned by him. In this last case they would be genuine Shakespeare plays. Had no collection of the plays been made in 1623, it would have been impossible for the critics of the 19th century to form a list of the Shakespeare plays. Some of the now received plays would have been struck out, and some of the doubtful plays have taken their places. The remarkable thing is that, in 1623, some one

should have been at hand to point out unerringly what were the true Shakespeare plays—several of them dating back thirty years, and nearly all of them over twenty, and should have rejected every one of the plays which puzzled Mr. Symonds. It is not to be believed that the fellow-players of William Shaksper, underlings at the Globe, butchers, and bakers, and candlestick-makers, and ranking with buffoons and tumblers, would know anything of the matter. The decision as to which plays were genuine and which spurious was that of some man who knew all about it—the same man who handed to the printers sixteen or seventeen plays, as “Shakespeare’s”, which had never before been published, half the number entirely new. Taken in connection with the fact of the Othello, this man could only have been the author of more or less of the Shakespeare plays, and he was living in 1623.

When the Folio volume, to embrace about two score plays, old and new, the former of which had been printed in Quarto twenty to thirty years before, was planned, these old plays had been almost, and many of them quite, forgotten. Between 1616, when Shaksper died, and 1623, there is no mention of any of them in Ingleby; and between 1591, when Ingleby’s Centurie begins, and 1616, half of them had been mentioned but once or twice in all literature. Several of the plays had been printed under names of William Shakespeare, or Shake-speare, or Shakespere, but who the man was who was thus concealed, no one knew. A generation had passed since the name first appeared (in 1593) upon the title page of a poem. Five years later it had been put tentatively upon the new edition

of an old play, and finally came to be used upon new plays by different authors or on new editions of old plays. Thus *Love's Labour's Lost* (Greene?), 1598, "By William Shakspeare"; *Richard III* (Marlowe), 1598, "By William Shake-speare"; *Sir John Oldcastle* (unknown), 1600, "Written by William Shakespeare"; *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (unknown), 1608, "Written by William Shakespeare"; *Edward III*, (Marlowe), 1600; *The London Prodigal*, (unknown) 1605—both by "William Shakespeare", etc., etc.

Certain of these plays it was now proposed to publish, together with others which had been obtained from an unknown source, brand new plays, or elaborate revisions of the old ones. The whole business was left unexplained in 1623, and the ensuing centuries have brought no light. We may suppose, then, that the printers wanted a figure-head, some one to stand sponsor for the volume, and they found a man whose name came handy for the purpose, and who was unknown to any of the literary men of that age, however well he had been known to the rabble, one William Shaksper, who had made a fortune by running the Globe theater, and years ago had retired to Stratford-on-Avon, whence he came. One thing was certain, that if no one could say that he had written them, on the other hand, no one could say that he had not. Thanks to Dr. Ingleby and Halliwell-Philippis, we, in 1900, know a hundred times more of this Shaksper than any reading man in England could have known in 1623. So he was adopted, and, by every means in their power, the printers aimed to impress upon the public that here was the original

Jacobs—the Shakespeare of the Venus and Adonis, and the Shakespeare of the plays. Ben Jonson's facile pen was employed to write a Dedication and Address to the readers over the names of two players, who, years ago, had been fellows of this Shaksper, and some eulogistic lines above his own initials. Several penny-a-liners were also invited to contribute their rhyming encomiums. It is conceivable that survivors of the band of authors who had written between 1593 and 1608 under the common soubriquet of "William Shakespeare", who were living in 1623, were not unwilling to assist in the publication, though still concealing their authorship, *for the odium attached to play-writing was as great in 1623 as it had been a score of years before.* But if this were so, they overlooked the fact that

"The sluggish gaping auditor . . .
 Marks not whose 't was first, and after times
 May judge it to be his."

Or perhaps they trusted to the assurance expressed in the remainder of these lines :

"Fool, as if half eyes will not know a fleece
 From locks of wool, or shreds from the whole piece."

Doubtless it was a matter of indifference to them that Jonson should be called on by the printers for lines to introduce the cut of the supposititious author which prefaces the Folio. Whether that was a likeness of William Shaksper, or a caricature, no one can now tell. If the Stratford bust resembled the man, the Folio head did not. One or the other was a fraud.

They represented two individuals, without one feature in common. But as by general consent the Shakspeareans have to-day fixed on the Folio head as a genuine likeness, even going so far as to have a bust in imitation of it carved for the Congressional Library, outsiders may accept it for what it pretends to be. In a gallery of showmen this figure might hold its own; in a gallery of poets it is painfully out of place. Shaksper's ability as a manager of a public theater, and as a money-maker, was considerable, but by a few ironical lines of a genuine poet he was transformed into the greatest of poets, and the showman and money-making phases are quite forgotten. Jonson had known the man well, and it must have been with peculiar delight that he undertook the job. So he begins:

"This figure that thou here seest put,
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut,
Wherein the graver had a strife
With nature to outdo the life:
O, could he but have drawn his Wit
As well in brass as he hath hit
His face, the Print would then surpass
All that was ever wrote in Brass."

This play upon the word "Brass" can have but one meaning, namely, to intimate that the impudent assumption that these plays were written by the man whose head is here given, is brazen, and Jonson accordingly appended these lines of advice to the Reader:

"But since he cannot, Reader look
Not at his Picture, but his Book,"

As clear a hint as could be given, that all pretense that the writer of these plays was that sort of man was foolery. The word "gentle" we may understand to be aimed at Shaksper's abortive attempt at coat-armour, in order to make himself a titular gentleman.

Mr. John Corbin says on these lines: "They have usually been taken as high praise of the print; but the fact that commendatory verses were one of the commonest literary customs of the time, distinctly lessens their value. The phrasing of the second couplet, moreover, was hackneyed enough in the time of Elizabeth, and far from being fulsome of praise, is little more than a metrical rendering of 'This is a portrait of Shakespeare'. The rest of the poem reduced to common parlance, says, that since the graver has failed to express Shakespeare's (Shaksper's) soul as well as he has drawn his features, we must turn to the plays to find the real author." Harper's Magazine, Apr., 1897. Mr. Corbin has hit it exactly. The engraver has drawn Shaksper's features, but in them is nothing of the soul of "Shakespeare". To find the real author, Mr. Corbin well says "we must turn to the plays."

Not merely were commendatory verses prefixed to a book, in that age, but figure-heads, pseudo-likenesses, or caricatures of the author were customary also.

"Deceptive and vaunting title-pages were practiced to such excess that Tom Nash, an 'Author by Profession', never fastidiously modest, blushed at the title of his 'Pierce Penniless', which the publishers had flourished in the first edition, like 'a tedious mounte-

bank'. The booksellers forged great names to recommend their works. 'It was an usual thing in those days,' says honest Anthony Wood, 'to set a great name to a book, by the sharking booksellers or snivelling writers, to get bread' ". Disraeli, *Calamities of Authors*.

(I cut from N. Y. Tribune of 10 Feby., 1899, this slip: "Among the Hardwicke papers, to be sold within a few days, is a letter in which Dean Percy writes in 1781" (150 years after the First Folio of the Shakespeare plays appeared) "In the book-making art the celebrity of name is of so much consequence that it is not unusual for the Trade to hire a popular name to be prefixed to a work which the owner of that name never saw. Poor Goldsmith picked up many a Guinea by this kind of Traffic, and we have accordingly a Grecian History, a version of Scarron, and many other things, which, to the best of my belief, he was utterly unconcerned in.")

Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, published shortly before this Folio, (1621), has in its front a pseudo-likeness of Democritus Junior, the pretended author. The Preface begins thus:—

"Gentle reader, I presume you will be inquisitive to know what antic or personate actor this is, that so insolently intrudes upon this common theater, to the world's view, arrogating another man's name; whence he is, why he doth it, and what he hath to say . . . I would not willingly be known. . . . 'Tis for no such respect I shroud myself under his name; but in an unknown habit to assume a little more liberty and freedom of speech."

As to the figure-head, he says: "It is a kind of policy in these days, to prefix a fantastical title (cut) to a book which is to be sold; for, as larks come down to a day-net, many vain readers will tarry and stand gazing like silly passengers at an antic picture in a painter's shop, that will not look at a judicious piece." Accompanying the figure-head are these lines:

"Now last of all, to fill a space
Presented is the author's face.
His mind no one can well express,
That by his writing you may guess.
It is not pride . . .
Made him do this, if you must know
The Printer would need have it so."

The writers of the Shakespeare plays concealed their personality in order "to assume a little more liberty and freedom of speech". When it came to publishing the collected plays in the Folio, the printers would need have some sort of figure-head to represent the author "Shakespeare", and, as we have seen, Jonson was employed to write lines introducing it. Also he was employed to write a rhyming Preface. Never in the history of literature was such another preface written. Consider that up to 1616, and while the player Shaksper was alive, and the plays were issuing, and from 1616 to 1623, when the Folio was published, not one single contemporary showed by his mention of the plays of William Shakespeare, that he held them to be anything out of the common, or better than the works of half a dozen other playwrights nearly always enumerated in connection with

Shakespeare. Therefore, Jonson's rhyming preface begins with what was so manifestly a lie, if intended to be understood literally, that it is evident the writer meant exactly the reverse of what his words say. Your plays are beyond praise, *everybody is talking of them, and the suffrage of all men is that never was there anything like it in literature.* Whereas the fact was that nobody talked of them, not a soul had held them to be superior to the works of other men, up to 1623. If, in 1616, they had dropped out of existence, no one would have known it, or missed them. Strange as this may seem to the nineteenth century worshipers of Shakespeare, the fact is as I give it, and the Ingleby references bear me out. The plays were not written for the 16th century, but for future ages, they were over the heads of nearly all people then living, and it is only in the 19th century that they have come to be appreciated. As Dr. Ingleby declares in his Preface: "We are at length slowly rounding to a just estimate of his works."

(I have before quoted Ingleby's remark that for a full hundred years from the first appearance of a Shakespeare play, no one held Shakespeare to be *sui generis*).

Thus Richard Carew, 1595-6, Ing. 20:—"The Miracle of our age, Sir Philip Sidney."*

Francis Meres, 1598, Ing. 21, puts together Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Chapman.

* "As a series of sonnets, the *Astrophiel* and *Stella* are second only to Shakespeare; as a series of love-poems, they are perhaps unsurpassed." Craik, Eng. Lit.

Edmund Bolton, 1610, Ing. 91: "But among the chief, or rather the chief are in my opinion, these, Shakespeare, Beaumont, *and innumerable other writers for the stage.*"

John Webster, 1612, Ing. 100: "For mine owne part, I have ever truly cherished my good opinion of other men's worthy Labours, especially of that full and hightened stile of maister Chapman; the labor'd and understanding works of maister Johnson; The no less worthy composure of the both worthily excellent Maister Beaumont and Maister Fletcher; And, lastly (without wrong last to be named), the right happy and copious industry of M. Shake-speare, M. Decker and M. Heywood."

John Webster, according to Swinburne, Enc. Brit., was "the greatest of Shakespeare's contemporaries . . . a tragic poet and dramatist of the very foremost rank in the very highest class. . . . The Duchess of Malfy stands out among its compeers as one of the imperishable and ineradicable landmarks of literature. The transcendent imagination and the impassioned sympathy which inspire this most tragic of all tragedies save King Lear, are fused together in the fourth act into a creation which has hardly been excelled for unflagging energy of expression and of pathos in all the dramatic or poetic literature of the world." Webster's plays date from 1601 to 1624. Will it be believed that in all the writings of this great contemporary of "Shakespeare", a resident of London also, the mention of Shakespeare above given is the only one, and that there is nowhere a mention or an allusion to the works of Shakespeare! As to the

player, there is absolute silence, as was to be expected. All that John Webster had to say of the poet was that he had ever cherished a good opinion of his right happy and copious industry, and lumps him with two second rate and voluminous writers, Decker and Heywood.

William Camden, 1608, Ing. 59: "If I should come to our time, what a world could I present you out of Sir Philip Sidney, Ed. Spenser, Samuel Daniel, Hugh Holland, Ben Jonson, Th. Campion, Mich. Drayton, George Chapman, John Marston, William Shakespeare, *and other more pregnant wits of these our times* whom succeeding ages may justly admire." Here Shakespeare is classed with several poets, the names of some of whom are now known only to the antiquary, and all are spoken of as if they were on the same level; and moreover there were other poets "more pregnant than those enumerated."

In 1620, John Taylor wrote thus (133):

"Sir Philip Sidney, *who the laurel wore*,*
Spenser and Shakespeare *did in art excel*,
Sir Edward Dyer, Greene, Nash, Daniel,
Silvester, Beaumont, Sir John Harrington,
Forgetfulness their works would overrun
But that in paper they immortally
Do live, in spite of death, and cannot die."

"We do not look for Shakespeare's name in books and poetry which were issued before 1593, when his

* Lee says, 429: "Sidney enjoyed in the decade that followed his death the reputation of a demi-god, and the wide dissemination in print of his numerous sonnets in 1591 spurred nearly every living poet in England to emulate his achievements."

Venus and Adonis, 'the first heir of my invention', was issued; so that we are not surprised at the silence of Sir William Webb (1586), George Puttenham (1589), Sir John Harrington (1591), Sir Philip Sidney (1595), and Lodge (1596). Shakespeare could hardly have been known to any of them. But the case is otherwise with works of the same character issued as late as 1596, the year in which were published Thomas Lodge's *Wits Miserie*, and the *World's Madness*, where among the divine wits, we do not find the name of Shakespeare. Similarly, in 1598, was published Edward Guilpin's collection of satires called '*Skialethea*', the sixth of which contains the names of Chaucer, Gower, Daniel, Markham, Drayton and Sidney, but not that of Shakespeare. Ben Jonson, writing some forty years later, makes the same remarkable omission in one part of his '*Discoveries*'; he remarks that as it is fit to read the best authors to youth first, so let them be of the openest and clearest; and he distinguishes how Sidney, Donne, Chaucer and Spenser should be read—but does not mention Shakespeare. Richard Carew assigns the first place to Sidney; Davidson and a host of others set an extravagant value on Daniel. The elder Basse, Taylor, and Edward Phillipps seem to put Spenser and Shakespeare on an equality." Ingleby, Preface.

"It is singular, if we rely upon several coeval authorities, how little our great dramatist was, about this period, known and admired for his plays. Richard Barnfeild published his '*Encomion of Lady Pecunia*', in 1598, (the year in which the list of twelve

of Shakespeare's plays were printed by Meres) . . .
and we quote the following notice of Shakespeare:

And Shakespeare thou, whose honey-flowing vein,
Pleasing the world, thy praises doth contain,
Whose Venus and whose Lucrece, sweet and chaste,
Thy name in Fame's immortal book hath placed.

Here Shakespeare's popularity as pleasing the world is noticed, but the proofs of it are not derived from the stage, etc. . . .

Precisely to the same effect, but a still stronger instance, we may refer to a play in which both Burbage and Kempe are introduced as characters, the one of whom had obtained such celebrity in the tragic, and the other in the comic parts of Shakespeare's dramas; we allude to the *Return from Parnassus*, which was indisputably acted before the death of Queen Elizabeth. In a scene where two young students are discussing the merits of particular poets, one of them thus speaks of Shakespeare:

"Who loves Adonis' love or Lucrece rape
His sweeter verse contains heart-robbing life," etc.

Not the most distant allusion is made to any of his dramatic productions. . . . Hence we might be led to imagine, that, even down to as late a period as the commencement of the 17th century, the reputation of Shakespeare depended rather upon his poems than upon his plays; almost as if productions for the stage were not looked upon, at that date, as part of the recognized literature of the country." Collier, *Life*, XLVII.

It is plain that up to the date of the Folio, 1623,

the poems and plays of Shakespeare were regarded by no one as being superior to the poems and plays of a dozen other authors.* Between 1592, when the first Shakespeare play is said to have been performed, and 1623, they are not spoken of in all English Literature more than twice a year, and as I have before said, Shakespeare by name, under any kind of spelling, was mentioned in the twenty-four years (1592 to 1616) but twenty times, or less than once a year. Think of it; an age prolific of poets and prose writers, and diaries and note-books; an age devoted to epistolary correspondence; and the great Shakespeare was spoken of (*teste* Ingleby), but twenty times in the twenty-four years during which William Shaksper is supposed by his followers to have been writing and publishing the plays afterwards gathered into the Folio. Plainly, as an individual he was unknown, and as a poet or play-writer he was almost unknown, and wholly unappreciated, as Ingleby declares was the fact.

If any poet of that day was held in special veneration, it was Sidney, the author of *Astrophel and Stella*, and not improbably, the author of the *Sonnets* ascribed to "Shakespeare". Twice is he mentioned in the references of Ingleby as apart from and above all other poets of that age; whereas "Shakespeare" is never so spoken of, but is always ranked with the common herd. Moreover the poems—the V. and A.

* Yet Dr. A. H. Strong, in his very interesting book, "The Great Poets and their Theology, Phila., 1897," can say of Shakespeare: "His pre-eminence as a dramatist and poet was universally acknowledged," *i. e.*, when he retired from the theater, 1611, to his death, 1616.

and Lucrece—were considered to be on a much higher plane than the plays. On this, H.-P., I, 119, says: "The contemporaries of Shakespeare allude more than once to the poems as being his most important works, and as those on which his literary reputation chiefly rested".

Jonson had a high appreciation of his own plays, and would have scorned the suggestion that those of Shakespeare stood on a level with them—much more on a higher level. In one of Du Maurier's cuts, a young woman asks an author if he ever reads novels. The emphatic reply is, "No, I write them". As a rule authors do not read the works of each other, in the same line, and it is safe to say that Jonson never read, or even looked at, the proof or text of the Folio to which he was about to act as sponser. He was a busy man, and besides had a way of spending his spare hours at the Mermaid. That he had no great opinion of the Shakespeare Plays is evident from the fact that in his own plays he repeatedly sneered at one or other of them. As to praise of them, or approval of them, there is not a syllable in Jonson's works. In the Prologue to "Every Man in His Humour," he ridicules Henry VI and the Winter's Tale. In the Introduction to Bartholomew Fair, he does the same to the Tempest. In his Ode, appended to the New Inn, he styles Pericles "a mouldy tale, and nasty as the fish-scrapings out of every dish thrown forth and raked into the common tub." In the "Poetaster" he scolds at the new-coined words with which the Shakespeare works were sprinkled. In 1619, he told Drummond that Shakespeare wanted art.

After the issue of the Folio, notwithstanding what he had said in the verses thereto prefixed, in the enumeration of all the wits he had known (or of his time) "who could honor a language or help study", left behind him at his death (1637), he makes no mention of Shakespeare or his works—actually forgot him and them!*

It shows that Shakespeare was not appreciated in his own age; nor was he thought anything superior during the rest of the 17th century, and indeed, during most of the 18th century.

In 1661, Evelyn noted in his diary that he saw Hamlet played; "but the old plays begin to disgust this refined age". Pepys, 30 Sept., 1662, records: "To the King's Theater, where we saw *Midsummer Night's Dream*, which I had never seen before, nor ever shall again, for it is the most insipid, ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life". 1661-2: March 1: "To the Opera and there saw *Romeo and Juliet*. . . . It is a play of itself the worst that ever I heard in my life." 1662-3, Jan 6: "There saw '*Twelfth-Night*' acted well, though it be but a silly play." 1667, Nov. 1: "My wife and myself to the King's Playhouse, and there saw a silly play and an old one, '*The Taming of a Shrew*.'"

* Jonson could scarcely have had a very high opinion of Shakespeare's genius, since a quarter of a century passed (1598-1623) before he pens a single line in his praise. And when at last the laudatory verses do appear, we are sure he was paid for writing them. His testimony is not, therefore, a spontaneous expression of his own sentiments, but a business advertisement." T. W. White, 162,

John Dryden, 1679, (Ing., 369), wrote thus: "It must be allowed to the present Age, that the tongue in general is so much refined since Shakespeare's time, that many of his words and more of his Phrases, are scarce intelligible. And of those which we understand, some are ungrammatical, others coarse, and his whole style is so pestered with Figurative expressions, that it is affected as it is obscure. . . . How defective Shakespear and Fletcher have been in all their plots, Mr. Rymer has discovered in his Criticisms. . . . In the mechanic beauties of the Plot, which are the Observation of the three Unities, Time, Place, and Action, they are both deficient; but Shakespeare most." And so Dryden undertook to re-write *Troilus and Cressida*—from the Preface to which play the remarks above are taken. In his own words, "because there appeared in some places of it the admirable genius of the Author, I undertook to remove the heap of Rubbish under which many excellent thoughts lay wholly bury'd."

On p. 350, 1672, Dryden says: "Let any man who understands English, read diligently the works of Shakespeare and Fletcher; and I dare undertake he will find in every page, either some solecism of speech, or some notorious flaw in sense. . . . That their wit is great and many times their expressions noble, envy itself cannot deny; but the times were ignorant in which they lived. Poetry was then, if not in its infancy among us, at least not arrived to its vigor and maturity; witness the lameness of their plots, etc. . . . Many of the rest, as *The Winter's Tale*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Measure for Measure*, which

were either grounded on impossibilities, or at least *so meanly written* that the Comedy neither caused your mirth, nor the serious part your concernment. . . . *In reading some bombast speeches of Macbeth, which are not to be understood*, he (Ben Jonson) used to say that it was horror, and I am much afraid that this is so. . . . The wit of the last age was still more incorrect than their language. Shakespeare, who many times has written better than any poet, in any language, is yet so far from writing wit always, or expressing that wit according to the dignity of the subject, that he writes in many places below the dullest writer of ours, or of any precedent age. . . . Let us therefore admire the beauties and the heights of Shakespeare, without falling after him in a carelessness, and, as I may call it, a lethargy of thought, for whole scenes together." And yet these criticisms were penned but fifty years after the publication of the Folio, and, twenty years earlier, the bombast speeches of Macbeth, "which are not to be understood" in Dryden's day, are imagined to have been spouted in Shaksper's public theaters, and comprehended by the rabble which frequented them!

Thomas Rymer (1661-1713), published a "Short View of Tragedy". He was an eminent man of letters and a voluminous author both in verse and prose; in 1692, he was appointed by William and Mary historiographer royal. What Rymer says of Shakespeare in his "Short View", taken in connection with Dryden's criticism in the same century, and that of Johnson and Hume in the next century, may be considered as expressing the opinion of most of the cul-

tivated people of those times. Of Othello, Rymer says: "There is in this play some burlesque, some humor and ramble of comical wit, some show; and some mimicry to divert the spectators; but the tragical part is plainly none other than a bloody farce without salt or savor." Of Julius Cæsar: "In the former play, our poet might be the bolder, the persons being all his own creatures and mere fiction. . . . He might be familiar with Othello and Iago, as his own natural acquaintances; *but Cæsar and Brutus were above his conversation.* To put them in fools' coats, and make them Jack-puddings in the Shakespeare dress, is a sacrilege beyond anything in Spelman. The truth is, this author's head was full of villanous, unnatural images, and history has only furnished him with great names, thereby to recommend them to the world." Ing. 367.

Dr. Johnson (1765) comments on the Shakespeare plays thus:

Of Hamlet: "The pretended madness of Hamlet caused mirth. . . . The catastrophe is not very happily introduced. A scheme might easily be formed to kill Hamlet with the dagger and Laertes with the bowl." Johnson severely criticizes others of these plays; says of Antony and Cleopatra, that "it is low, and without any art of connection or care of disposition." Of Cymbeline, he does not care "to waste criticism upon unresisting imbecility", etc. And the great Doctor tells us that if any of his contemporaries were to write plays like those of Shakespeare, the audiences would not sit them out.

David Hume, Hist. Eng., App. to James I, 1764, said:—

“If Shakespeare be considered as a man, born in a rude age, and educated in the lowest manner, without any instruction either from the world or from books, he may be regarded as a prodigy; *if represented as a poet, capable of furnishing a proper entertainment to a refined or intelligent audience*, we must abate much of the eulogy. . . . A striking peculiarity of sentiment, adapted to a single character, he frequently hits, as it were, by inspiration, but *a reasonable propriety of thought he cannot for any time uphold*. . . . *It is in vain we look either for purity or simplicity of diction. His total ignorance of all theatrical art and conduct, etc.*

“A great and fertile genius he certainly possessed, and one enriched equally with a tragic and comic view; but he ought to be cited as a proof, how dangerous it is to rely on these advantages alone for attaining an excellence in the fine arts. And there may even remain a suspicion that we overrate, if possible, the greatness of his genius; in the same manner as bodies often appear more gigantic, on account of their being disproportioned and misshapen. . . . Both of them, (Shakespeare and Jonson) were equally deficient in taste and elegance, in harmony and character; and thence it has proceeded that the nation has undergone, from all its neighbors, the reproach of barbarism, from which its valuable productions in some other parts of learning would otherwise have exempted it.”

There was no time between 1592 and 1800 when the common run of people understood or appreciated the Shakespeare plays. Most of them were beyond the ca-

capacity of the play-goers, and they might in large part as well have been written in Greek. The public could understand the spectacle, or special scenes and parts of a play, but the metaphysical and philosophical language, which forms a large part of nearly all the plays, was incomprehensible, and doubtless was omitted in the performance. After the Restoration, nearly every playwright took in hand one or more Shakespeare plays to re-write, re-model, and improve it. In some cases two of the plays were made into one. Dr. Doran says that *it seemed to be the idea of these men that it was necessary to reduce Shakespeare to the mental level of the play-goers*. If that were the case in the last part of the 17th century, how unappreciated must these plays have been in the last half of the 16th century when the "people were gross and dark," . . . "but just emerging from barbarism", as Dr. Johnson declares—how little understood. Therefore, the assertion is thoughtless that the plays were written for the entertainment of the audiences at the theaters of Elizabeth's day. The author of these plays had in mind the public of a future, and much more enlightened, age.

What does Jonson when ordered to compose verses laudatory of player Shaksper, and at the same time of plays which for years he had been sneering at and ridiculing? At last he has a chance to pay off old scores with the usurer-player, the rich charlatan, the poet-ape, who was now to masquerade as the author of these plays. So he begins:

“ . . . Soul of the Age
The applause, delight and wonder of our stage,
My Shakespeare, rise; I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lie
A little further to make thee a room.”

Of this Ingleby says: “I will not lodge thee”, etc., means that he will not class Shakespeare with Chaucer, and the rest *because he is out of all proportion greater than they.*” This was a monstrous exaggeration, and could only have been spoken in irony, considering the estimation in which the Shakespeare plays had been held up to that time and the general ignorance among cultivated men respecting them. We know positively, through the labors of Phillipps and Ingleby, that this ignorance was general. If no one wrote of the plays, it was because nobody spoke of them. So far they had acquired no reputation at all.

Even after the publication of the Folio, they were not popular, and found few readers. Dr. Johnson (Life of Milton) says: “To prove the paucity of readers, it may be sufficient to remark that the nation had been satisfied from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with only two editions of Shakespeare, which probably did not together make one thousand copies.” Probably not more than one-half of a thousand, for “George Steevens estimates that the (first) edition numbered 250 copies”. Lee, 305.

It is a surprising fact, Ingleby being witness, that there is not one word of praise of the works of Shakespeare, plays or poems, between 1592 and 1623, by any dramatist or poet of the first or second rank. Nothing from such men but an occasional allusion to a play

or poem, often distant. Not one word in commendation of author or works. Whatever in Ingleby's *Centurie of Prayse* is really praise was written by men of no mark whatever, usually of the Weever and Digges stamp. Such men were not qualified to judge of the works of Shakespeare, or of appreciating them in the slightest degree, and they were as likely to attribute their production to a player at the Curtain as to anyone else. As Mr. T. W. White says: "Why have we nothing from Thomas Kyd, George Peele, Thomas Lodge, George Chapman, Samuel Daniel, Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Dekker, John Marston, John Fletcher, Francis Beaumont. John Middleton, or Philip Massinger? They were all contemporaries, poets and dramatists". 148.

Even Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, published 1621, while it quotes Spenser, Sidney and other poets of that age, never mentions Shakespeare. Evidently, Halliwell-Phillipps' "bard of our admiration" or "great dramatist", had not revealed himself to the other great writers of that generation. Dr. Ingleby expresses surprise that not only among the poets and dramatists above named, but such writers, or "great names", as Lord Brooke, Lord Bacon, Selden, Sir John Beaumont, Henry Vaughan, and Lord Clarendon, no pains of research could connect the most trivial allusion to the Bard or his works; and he quotes approvingly Gerald Massey's remarks that "Shakespeare's contemporaries had no adequate conception of what manner of man or majesty of mind

were amongst them. We know him better than they did."

It was this very Folio which Jonson was so carelessly prefacing that was to create and maintain a reputation for the Shakespeare plays that should fill the whole earth—but not in Jonson's day, or for two hundred years after. Up to 1623, no man could have known there were Shakespeare plays except through the Quarto copies of single plays stigmatized in a lump by the ostensible editors of the Folio, as stolen and surreptitious, and but twelve of the great plays had borne the name of William Shakespeare. Several of the greatest plays of the series were to appear in this Folio for the first time.

Therefore Jonson's praises of the plays were purposely beyond all reason, ironical. The next lines touch up the player:

"For though thou hast small Latin and less Greek
From thence to honor thee I would not seek
For names; but call forth thundering Aeschylus,
Euripides and Sophocles to us,
Pacuvius, Accius, him of Cordova dead,
To life again to hear thy buskin tread
And shake a stage; or when thy socks were on,
Leave thee alone for the comparison
Of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome
Sent forth or since did from their ashes come.
Triumph, my Britain, thou hast one to show
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe."

We have before seen that "small Latin" at that day meant a lack of any education at all, and this was doubtless what Jonson intended to signify. As to his rank as a player, we have also seen that William

Shaksper was a very inferior one. He was scarcely mentioned by contemporaries at all, and when he was, it was in connection with no histrionic power. He was one of the clowns, a pupil of Kempe, and what sort of man Kempe was, Dr. Rolfe's picture shows us. Therefore, to talk about bringing Pacuvius, Accius, and Seneca to life again, to hear this player's buskin tread, and shake a stage, "or when thy socks are on"—that is, when you are jigging it on boards and barrel-heads, or playing at the Curtain or the Globe—nothing that Greece or Rome, or later ages, have produced can hold a candle to you; that Britain may triumph, for now she has an actor to whom all Europe confesses homage—to talk in this way is not laudatory, or friendly, but abusive, defamatory, scurrilous.

Remember Jonson was apostrophizing a man who had got rich and gave himself airs (coat-armour, etc.) by running a public theater, the lowest place of entertainment, a center of organized vice, who belonged to a despised occupation, whom no one confessed to having known, but who was set up as the writer of these plays.

Suppose that Jones, of Allegheny, had just delivered a speech in the New York Assembly, when up jumps Rogers, of Cattaraugus, and apostrophizes Jones as the Soul of the Age, the applause, delight and wonder of all creation, far ahead of Clay, Webster, Everett, not to say Demosthenes or Cicero, and calls on America to triumph, for she has one now to show to whom all Christendom owes homage. I am inclined to think there would be a fight in two minutes, and that Jones

would be justified in tackling Rogers for deriding and lampooning him.

Then Jonson turns to the surviving author, and hints that this sweet Swan may show itself again:

"What a sight it were,
To see thee in our waters yet appear,
And make those flights upon the bank of Thames,
That did so take Eliza and our James."

He closes, by calling on him, if he means to do it at all, to be quick, for "since thy flight" (thy disappearance, thy seclusion, the cessation of the plays) "the drooping stage has mourned like night"—because it cannot get a new supply of plays. So "Shine forth, thou Star of Poets," give us some more new plays, pray.

And see the man chuckle as he writes at the tail of his verse under the cut, the notice to the reader, that since he cannot expect him to discover the wit of which he has been talking in that stolid figure-head, "Why reader, look not at the Picture, but his Book".

It has been suggested that Jonson had recently, (since his conversation with Drummond, 1619,) learned the secret of these plays, but was loyal to the interest of the author, or one of them, still living in 1623, and he entreats him to cheer again the drooping stage. "What a sight it were to see thee in our waters yet appear." Donnelly well says, p. 96: "How comes it that Jonson expresses the hope that the author would reappear, and write new plays, and cheer the drooping stage, and shine forth again, if he referred to the man

whose mouldering relics had been lying in the Stratford church for seven years?"

We have seen that the Shakespeare plays were not written for the rabble who crowded the narrow limits of the Curtain and Globe, "illiterate, who could not for the most part read and write"; but also that they were not understood even by the better class of people. The earliest real appreciation came in the first third of the 19th century. For Jonson to pretend to go into extacies over the plays, and over player Shaksper, lauding him as one of whom Britain was proud, was all of a piece, and can only be explained by his intention to deride the man and the pretensions set up for him.

All the early commentators took the ground that Jonson was envious of the player, whom they, the commentators, held to have been Shakespeare, the author, and embraced every opportunity to sneer at and depreciate him. Thus Steevens says: "The whole of Jonson's Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour* is a malicious sneer at Shaksper". Malone talks about the baseness and malignity of Jonson's conduct towards Shaksper. Gifford, *Life of Jonson*, says: "Mr. Malone quotes the passage in more than one place to evince the malignity of Jonson."

Reed says: "Jonson's insincerity was for two hundred years a matter of universal comment among scholars; Dryden, Malone, Steevens, Chalmers, and others, had no doubt on the subject." And scholars would be of the same mind to-day, had not the recent appreciation of these plays reduced Jonson's panegyric within bounds. Two things happened which Jonson

did not foresee. The first, that the genesis of the myth that Shaksper was the author of the Poems and Plays was right there, in those verses; the second, that—and it would have astonished Jonson not a little—in the lapse of the centuries, his praises, which in 1623, if understood literally, were extravagant and ridiculous, would come to be regarded as within the truth—that the reputation of these plays should have far outgrown that of any and all the works of other poets and dramatists of Elizabeth's day. The verses that in 1623, if soberly written, were lies, to-day are truths. Jonson had said in his epigram on Poet-Ape, by whom some authors understand manager Shaksper:

The sluggish gaping auditor . . .
 . . . marks not whose twas first; and aftertimes
 May judge it to be his.
 Fool! as if half eyes will not know a fleece
 From locks of wool, or shreds from the whole piece.

The half eyes for three hundred years have taken the locks of wool for the whole fleece, led unintentionally to do so by Jonson himself.

As we have seen, Mr. Fleay, while not denouncing Jonson's affectations as malicious, tells us, that in his opinion, no value is to be attributed to them, that is, that Jonson was insincere.

In 1619, three years after Shaksper's death, and four years before the eulogistic verses appeared in the Folio, Jonson visited William Drummond of Hawthornden, another poet, and Drummond entered in his note-book Jonson's remarks on the poets and play-wrights of his time. So much as relates to Shakespeare is given by

Ingleby, p. 129:) "His censure (opinion) of the English Poets was this . . . that Shakespear wanted art." "Sheakspear in a play brought in a number of men saying they had suffered ship-wreck in Bohemia, wher yr is no sea neer by some 100 miles".

In the verses of the Folio, Jonson says:

"Yet must I not give nature all; thy Art,
My gentle Shakespeare, must enjoy a part;
For though the Poet's matter Nature be
His Art doth give the fashion; and that he
Who casts to write a living line must sweat
(Such as thine are) and strike the second beat
Upon the Muse's anvil; turn the same
And himself with it, that he thinks to frame,
Or for the laurel he may gain a scorn,¹
For a good poet's made, as well as born.
And such wert thou! Look how the father's face
Lives in his issue, even so the race
Of Shakespeare's mind and manners brightly shines
In his well-turned and true-filed lines."

In 1619, Jonson told Drummond that Shakespeare wanted art; in 1623, he says Shakespeare has art—plenty of it;* he is a poet and made so by labor; he had had to sweat for it, to write and re-write, "strike the second heat upon the anvil". "You are by nature a poet, but a good poet is made as well as born". (And such wert thou; witness thy well-turned and true-filed lines)."

There is every reason to believe that Jonson expressed to Drummond, in 1619, his then candid opinion of the plays of Shakespeare. By 1623, he had

* I have before quoted John Taylor's line: "Spenser and Shakespeare did in art excel,"

apparently experienced an entire change of heart, and in the prefatory verses gave a directly opposite opinion. But, as addressed to Shaksper, the player, on the theory that he was the Shakespeare, every line is not merely inapplicable, but absurd. Not one of the Shaksperolaters believes that the "bard of his admiration" labored over the plays; on the contrary, most of them hold with Phillipps that this man alone of all mortals since the days of the Hebrew prophets wrote under immediate inspiration, not by design—that in the odd half-hours snatched from his theatrical duties, without study, and without books, he dashed off completed plays, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Hamlet*, etc., moved by some beneficent and divine influence that was thus kindly helping him to fill the pit and galleries of his theater with the stinkards and prostitutes of London. The remaining fraction will say that Shaksper had picked up somewhere a little smattering of knowledge, and of languages, and that all shortcomings, such as the sea-coast of Bohemia, were owing to his defective early advantages. One individual, Lecturer Wendell, of Harvard, has put it on record that these plays are not so extraordinary as people have thought, and intimates that he knows of a man, who, given a few Elizabethan books, and *Coke upon Littleton*, could compose plays after the manner of Shakespeare that would surprise himself, a fact which I doubt not at all.* But plainly these words of

* Professor Wendell, testing his theory, has published a Shaksperesque play, called *Raleigh in Guiana*, in *Scribner's Magazine*, June, '97, from which I cull a few gems. And I take the opportunity to say that his mentions of Mary Fitton

Jonson are totally unsuited to the Stratford man, on any theory whatever. The laudatory contribution is indivisible, and the votaries of the man Shakespeare cannot be allowed to appropriate what they like, and ignore the rest; cannot toss up their caps at the men—

are execrable, baseless, and libelous. If that lady has any descendants in Harvard, they should take it out with Professor Wendell on the campus:

“Then beware sir, how you loose
Your tongue. My hair in youth was red;
And though sea-salt encrust it now with gray
The head beneath stays hot.”

“The cloudy monster, circumstance,
Affrighting common folk, doth melt to air
Round them that, plunging in her maw, dare vex
Her misty bowels.”

“Lusty Ben—
You know him?”

“He that makes the plays,
Laid bricks once, slew a player, and drinks deep?”
“The same, he was my tutor. Once I plied him
Till he was e’en past snoring. Then, his heels
Together, I bade them lay him in a cart
And carry him abroad through Paris streets,
A livelier image of a crucifix
Than any carved in France.”

“Keep the peace
Till then; and send me for a challenger
Some stale companion of thy lady wife—
Her that the player wrote his sonnets for
And Pembroke fooled with.”

“This is worse than what in other yeare
I thought my worst—when Mary Fitton, sir,
Who was my wife at last—played me false
With one Will Shakspeare—a common player
That made plays, otherwise noteless,”

tion of the Sweet Swan of Avon, and smother the testimony of Jonson that the Shakespeare he has in mind, and is talking of, took infinite pains in shaping and polishing his verses. Further, that Shakespeare's mind and manners live in his verses as the face of a father in his sons' face; that is, the verses show themselves to be the work of an educated man and gentleman, which Jonson could not possibly have said of any work of William Shaksper, for the sufficient reason that he was neither an educated man, nor a gentleman.

It is certain that Jonson did not regard Shakespeare as a great poet, or as exceling or equaling Chaucer, Spenser, and others, although he pronounced him to be a good poet; and we know this from Jonson himself. He died in 1637, fifteen years after the issue of the Folio. In 1641, there was published his work entitled "Timber, or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter as they have flowed out of his daily Readings, or had their reflex to his peculiar Notion of the Times." The subject-matter is in paragraphs, each under its own heading, and was jotted down from time to time during the last years of his life. It fills twenty-five large, fine-printed pages in Moxon's edition of Jonson's Works. On the fifth page, under the head of *Memoria*, the author speaks of himself as having passed forty, when his memory began to fail him, and as now "being shaken with age", so that his memory "cannot promise much". As Jonson was born in 1574, past forty would be 1614, and to be shaken with age, past another ten years at least. On the eighth page, he speaks of Francis Bacon, *Dominus*

Verulamius, as one who had lived. Bacon died in 1626. From these dates, it is evident that nearly, if not quite, all of these Discoveries were written after the death of Shaksper, and after the issue of the Folio.

On page 8, just after the paragraph on Bacon in the *Scriptorum Catalogus*, in which he enumerates by name many wits of that and the preceding age "that could honor a language or help study", and among them Bacon, who had filled all numbers, "and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome"; (thus repeating the words he had used respecting "Shakespeare" in the Folio), he closes the section by saying that "Bacon may be named, and stand as the mark and the *acme* of our language." As *acme* means the highest point, the pinnacle, he here puts Bacon, who had filled all numbers, above every other author in the language. He has now no thought of "Shakespeare", whom he had, in 1623, apostrophized as the Soul of the Age, the Star of Poets, the man not for an age, but for all time; whose writings could not be praised too much; a monument without a tomb; as out of all proportion greater than the hitherto greatest of English poets. And now, in the Catalogue of Writers, he has forgotten that such a name existed in English Literature.

Again, some years later, under the head of *Praecipendi modi* (17th page), on the instruction of youth, we find this: "Therefore youth ought to be instructed betimes and in the best things. . . . And as it is fit to read the best authors to youth first, so let them

be of the openest and clearest;" and he goes on to mention such authors as would serve this purpose, Sidney and Donne, Gower and Chaucer, but again forgets all about Shakespeare.

Plainly enough, notwithstanding the praises heaped upon the author of the Shakespeare plays in the Folio verses, as well as upon the plays themselves, Jonson did not really hold Shakespeare to be one of the foremost poets, and the praises were simply ironical. As we have seen, Dr. Ingleby, in his Preface, speaks of Jonson's omitting to mention Shakespeare, as above, as something remarkable. There is but one explanation of the fact possible.

At an early date in the Discoveries, 7th page, or two pages after the *Memoria*, which as we have seen, must have been written after 1623, we have *De Shakespeare Nostrat*, which undoubtedly means player Shakspers. He says he had heard from the players, (all illiterate men, be it remembered) that Shakespeare had written something, he knows not what, "whatsoever he penned", with such facility that "he never blotted out a line;" meaning there were no erasures, or alterations in the manuscript. His answer was that from what he knew of the man, he ought to have blotted out a thousand lines, for he was naturally so garrulous and blunderheaded, that it could not have been otherwise. Following the text, the words are these:

"I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honor to Shakespeare that in his writing (whatsoever he penned) he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, would he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not

told posterity this, but for their ignorance, *who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted*; and to justify mine own candor; for I loved the man and do honor his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any. He was indeed honest, and of an open and free nature, had an excellent phantasy; *wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped*. *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power, would the rule of it had been so too. Many times he fell into those things could not escape laughter; as when he said in the person of Caesar, one speaking to him: 'Caesar thou dost me wrong', he replied, 'Caesar did never wrong but with just cause', and such like; which were ridiculous." *

* This play was first published in the Folio, and Act III, 1., 7, reads:

"Know Caesar doth not wrong, nor without cause,
 . . . Will he be satisfied?"

Probably player Shaksper, in spouting his part in a Caesar play, had made the blunder Jonson speaks of. H.-P. II, 257, tells us that Caesar was a favorite subject for dramatic representation from 1579 onward. There were numerous Caesar plays by as many authors, and, as in so many other cases, these would be utilized in the preparation of the Shakespeare Julius Caesar. Several of them were based on North's translation of Plutarch's Life of Caesar, and naturally they would have had resemblances—indeed identical expressions. Whether the Shakespeare play had ever been seen on the stage before its publication in 1623 or not, is altogether uncertain. There is no direct evidence in its favor. Some commentators guess from the paucity of light-endings and weak endings"—all twaddle—that it was composed about 1601. But so far as Ingleby's references show, any Caesar performed before the issue of the Folio must have been one of the old plays mentioned.

(Could Jonson have used such language respecting the real Shakespeare, the author of *Hamlet*?)

In other words, Shaksper talked too much, and by his blunders and chattering made himself a laughing-stock. Why Johnson, while depreciating player Shaksper in one sentence, should have said in the next that nevertheless he almost idolized the man, and loved him, and honored his memory, is not apparent, unless it is to be explained on the ground that Jonson dearly loved to satirize his quondam friend, but recent enemy, and took care that his praise should be balanced by his criticisms.

Drummond, in his note-book, entered this character of Ben Jonson: "He is a great lover and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others; given rather to lose a friend than a jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he liveth," etc. Chamber's Enc., Eng. Lit., Jonson.

If Jonson goes, who remains, and what becomes of the Shaksper myth? It had its beginning with Jonson, and for nearly three hundred years has had no support whatever outside Jonson's verses. The apex of the inverted Shaksper pyramid rests on that little bit of contradictory testimony.

The suggestion that the Shaksper story may be mythical, that the well-known facts of Shaksper's life made it out of the question that he could have written the Shakespeare plays—the one answer has been that Jonson expressly said that Shakespeare, by whom of course he meant our beloved Swan of Avon, was the Soul of the Age, the Star of Poets. Point out that

Jonson, at other times and places, expressed himself in terms incompatible with the sentiment of the verses, and by omitting the author of these plays from a list of good poets, or by refusing to recommend his works as worth study, showed that he had but a slight opinion of plays or works; and hence it is clear that his praises in the Folio were not honest;—the reply is: “But he said that Shakespeare’s writings were such that neither man nor Muse could praise too much, and that he soared far above Chaucer or Spenser, *and that all the world was saying so.* Which very words, in view of the fact that up to 1623 nobody whatever had said so, and that the world neither knew nor cared about these plays, are enough to make it impossible that the verses could have been written otherwise than in joke. Jonson never dreamed that such hyperbolical language could be taken seriously.

A clipping from a recent newspaper is instructive in this matter. It is headed “Mary’s letter from California”:

“Why, she says the red-wood trees are so tall that it requires two people to see the top. It does not seem possible—and strawberries as big as pineapples. Who ever heard the like?”

“Don’t you see, grandma, that Mary is only chaffing? She purposely makes stories so big that no one will believe them. It is just a satire on the boastful claims made for that country.”

CHAPTER XII.

HEMINGE AND CONDELL.

Heminge and Condell (Ing. 143-45), fellow-players of Shaksper, are the ostensible editors of the First Folio of the collected plays, 1623, and the apparent authors of the Dedication and Prefatory Address. The Dedication is to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, and in part runs thus:

“When we value the places your H.H. sustain, we cannot but know their dignity greater than to descend to the readings of these trifles. But since your L.L. have been pleased to think these trifles something, heretofore”, etc., etc.—in short, we venture to publish them.

In the Address: “It had been a thing, we confess, worthy to have been wished, that the Author himself had lived to set forth, and overseen his own writings; but since it hath been ordained, *and he by death departed from that right*, we pray you do not envy his Friends the office of their care and pain to have collected them; and so to have published them, *as where (before) you were abused with divers stolen and surreptitious copies, and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors that exposed them*” (that is, “exposed them for sale, or published them”, Craik); “*even those are now offered to your view cured and perfect of their limbs, as he conceived them.* . . . His mind and hand went together; and what he thought,

he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers," etc., etc.

This statement, if Heminge and Condell really made it, would show that they were totally ignorant of the ways of authors. No manuscript of any length was ever written without corrections, excisions, additions, erasures, and emendations, and to claim that here was a man who wrote a vast mass of manuscript with scarce a blot, is so contrary to what the fact must have been, that evidently it was not expected to be believed. It is ridicule of Shaksper's claim of authorship of the same nature as that which runs through Jonson's mocking verses. Indeed it is probable that Jonson wrote both Dedication and Address, as Malone suggests, and as many Shakespeare critics have believed.

The Address distinctly states that Shaksper, at his death, still owned these plays; that his friends, Heminge and Condell, were at the pains to have collected the plays and published them (implying oversight); that the previous copies (the Quartos) were stolen and surreptitious, deformed by the frauds of the impostors who had published them; and that the Folio copies now offered were received from Shaksper himself, and were cured and perfect of limb, just as the author conceived them.

Craik says, "English of Shakespeare": "Here we have, along with an emphatic and indiscriminating condemnation of all the preceding impressions, a distinct declaration by the publishers of the present volume (H. & C.) that they had the use of the author's manuscripts".

Reed says: "The ostensible editors were two playwrights, formerly connected with the company of which William Shakspeare was a member. Heminge appears also to have been a grocer. In the dedication, they characterize the Plays, with singular infelicity, as 'trifles'. They astonish us still more by the use they make of Pliny's Epistle to Vespasian, prefixed to his Natural History, and not translated into English till 1635. Not only are the thoughts of the Latin author most happily introduced, but they are amplified and fitted to the purpose with consummate literary skill."

Dr. Ingleby, note, 144, says: "The first part of the peroration of this address is so good as to evoke the suspicion that it is not original. . . . In truth the beginning of the peroration is literally translated from Pliny's dedicatory epistle to Vespasian, prefixed to his Natural History, which ran thus: 'Country people and many nations offer milk to their gods; and they who have not incense obtain their requests with only meal and salt; nor was it imputed to any as a fault to worship the gods in whatever way they could'."

The Address says: "Country hands reach forth milk, cream, fruits, or what they have; and many Nations (we have heard) that had not gums and incense obtained their requests with a leavened cake. It was no fault to approach their gods by what means they could; and the most, though meanest of things, are made more precious when they are dedicated to Temples. In that name, therefore, we most humbly consecrate to your highnesses these remains of your servant Shakespeare," etc.

Ingleby further says: "The writer of the Address of 1623 added 'cream and fruits' in one place and 'gums' in another; and for *mola salsa* appears to have, not unskillfully, caught up Horace's '*farre pio*'. (Odes, III, 23, ll, 17-20.) He adds, too, very gracefully, that 'the meanest things are made more precious when they are dedicated to temples'." As I have quoted from Mr. Reed, the thoughts of Pliny are not only happily introduced, but they are amplified and fitted to the purpose with consummate skill.

Malone suggests that both Dedication and Address were written by Ben Jonson. Craik thinks that either Jonson "or another—some regular author of the day"—were got to write them. Bishop Wordsworth speaks of the Address as "supposed to have been written by Ben Jonson". Why Ben Jonson? Because it is not to be believed that men of the occupation and surroundings of Heminge and Condell could have written this learned and ingenious Dedication and Preface. Yet it is not one thousandth part so wonderful that the two strolling players should have composed these papers as that their fellow, William Shaksper, should have written any one of the Shakespeare plays. If occupation and surroundings are against Heminge and Condell, much more are the same against Shaksper.

As to these plays in the Folio being perfect, and as the author conceived them, whereas the Quarto copies were deformed by frauds, and imperfect, published by impostors—B. Disraeli, in the *Amenities of Authors*, says: "Heminge and Condell profess that they have done this office to the dead only to keep the memory

of so worthy a friend alive as was our Shakespeare. Yet their utter negligence shown in their fellow's volume is no evidence of their pious friendship, nor perhaps of their care or their intelligence."

None of the family of Shaksper had any connection with the publishing of the First Folio, of 1623, (or any subsequent Folio), nor had his executors. On the title page it is said: "Printed by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount, 1623." At the back of the book—"Printed at the charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke and W. Aspley, 1623". This Jaggard is the man who, in 1599, had published a work called the *Passionate Pilgrim*, made up of two sonnets of "Shakespeare" and a few verses from *Love's Labour's Lost*, with a good deal more from other authors, the whole attributed to William Shakespeare.*

H.-P., I, 179, says of this book: "The entire publication bears evident marks of an attempted fraud." Other editors speak of Jaggard as "the piratical publisher." Well, he was the proper man to be connected with the fraud now about to be perpetrated in this Folio. The volume was got out by an association of printers, Jaggard being a specimen brick, and they employed some other than the illiterate fellow-players of Shaksper to write Dedication and Preface.

* "As the publisher of 'The Passionate Pilgrim', Jaggard seems to have learnt for the first time that Shakespeare was what he would doubtless have called a selling name. He was consequently quite ready to embark substantial capital in a very large venture of a complete collection of his plays. These five traders—all of whom ignored and defied on principle the interests of contemporary authors—were readily responsible for the great First Folio." Sidney Lee, *Cornhill*, April, 1899, p. 450.

Dr. Morgan, 107-9: "Whatever literary property then existed at common law was in the shape of a license to reprint a work under the permission of the Stationer's Company.* Once in their hands, printers did what they pleased with a manuscript; abridged it, lengthened it, altered it. *They assigned the authorship to any name they thought would help sell the book, and dedicated it to whom they pleased.*" Thus it happened, that a name on a title page was not evidence that the individual so named was the author of the printed book.

In the present case, the name of William Shakespeare, "our fellow", on the title page, goes in no way as proof that our fellow (whose name was not Shakespeare) wrote these plays, or had any connection with them; and the names of Heminge and Condell are no evidence that they were the real editors, or the authors of the Dedication or Address. Between 1595 and 1609, anybody was free to use the name of William Shakespeare. No play is entered at the Stationer's Register under this name, or of Shaksper, or Shakspeare. In every case the entry is for the printer. (See Fleay, Appendix, Life, where all the plays entered at the

* In 1556, Philip and Mary had erected 97 booksellers into a body called "The Stationer's Company", who were to monopolize the printing of books, if they chose. They had given them power and authority to print such books as they obtained, either from author's manuscript or translations, and to see very carefully that nobody else printed them. Their power was absolute, and they were empowered . . . to suppress any printed matter they did not choose to license, wherever they pleased", etc.

Stationer's Register between 1584 and 1640 are given.)

The note in Ingleby upon the assertion that the editors printed from the author's manuscript, reads: "If by this they intended to convey to the reader the notion that the text of the Folio of 1623 was printed from the author's own manuscript, they must stand convicted of a *suggestio falsi*; for five at least of the plays included in that volume are little more than the reprint of the previous quarto editions, characterized by them as 'surreptitious copies,' " etc.

In his Essays, 1888, Dr. Ingleby again says: "I suppose I must cite the ostensible editors of the first collection of Shakespeare's work . . . but unfortunately for their credit and our own satisfaction, their prefatory statement contains, or at least suggests, what they must have known to be false."

Dowden says, 233: "In their address to the readers, they profess to give for the first time the true text, and it is implied that they printed from Shakespeare's manuscripts. As a fact, the text abounds with errors, and in many instances they evidently print from the Quartos."

The address distinctly states that William Shaksper, at his death, still owned these plays; that his friends, Heminge and Condell, were at the care and pains to have collected and published them (implying oversight, supervision); that the previous copies—the Quartos, newly "corrected, augmented and amended"—the second quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*; or the 2nd quarto of *Hamlet*, which Fleay says is much superior to the *Hamlet* of the First Folio, and is in the shape

fittest for private reading—as well as all the rest, were stolen and surreptitious, deformed by the frauds of the impostors who had published them—a declaration that Shaksper had no interest in, or connection with, the Quartos; and that the Folio copies now offered were received from William Shaksper himself, and are cured and perfect in all respects, just as he conceived them.

The commentators, one and all, either make light of these statements, or say in effect that no one is expected to believe them. Craik says: "What they say is nothing more than the sort of recommendation with which it was customary for enlarged and improved editions to be introduced to the world. . . . Of correction for the press, there is not one word." He further says: "It is not likely that the two players, who, with the exception of this Dedication and Preface, to which their names are attached, are quite unknown in connection with literature, were at all qualified for such a function. . . . There is probably not a page in it (the Folio) which is not disfigured by many minute inaccuracies and irregularities. The most elementary proprieties of the metrical arrangement are violated in innumerable passages. In some places the verse is printed as plain prose; elsewhere, prose is ignorantly and ludicrously exhibited in the guise of verse. . . . Everything betokens that editor or editing of the volume, in any proper or distinctive sense, there could have been none. In one instance (*Much Ado*), we have actually the names of the actors by whom the play was performed prefixed

to their portions of the dialogue instead of those of the *dramatis personae*," etc.

Mr. Knight observes that "it shows very clearly the text of the play (*Much Ado*) to have been taken from the prompter's book. But the fact is, the scene in question is given in the same way in the previous Quarto edition of the play, published in 1600, so that here the printers had evidently no manuscript of any kind in their hands, any more than had anyone over them to prevent them from blindly following their printed copy into the most transparent absurdities. . . . In addition to a large number of doubtful or disputed passages, there are many readings in it (*Folio*) which are either absolutely unintelligible and therefore corrupt, or, although not purely nonsensical, yet clearly wrong, and at the same time such as are hardly to be sufficiently accounted for as to natural mistakes of the compositor. . . . Such errors and deficiencies can only be explained on the supposition that the compositor had been left to depend upon a manuscript which was imperfect, or which could not be read."

"Some of the finest thoughts and expressions are found in the quarto editions, and not in the *Folio*. For instance, in the play of *Hamlet*, nearly all of Sc. IV, Act 4, is found in the Quarto and not in the *Folio*. . . . Hundreds of other admirable sentences can be quoted which appear in the Quarto, but not in the *Folio*. . . . In some respects the stolen and surreptitious copies of the Quarto are more correct than the *Folio*, and but for the Quarto we would have lost some of the finest gems of thought and expres-

sion which go by the name of Shakespeare." Donnelly, 90.

Knight says of Lear: "Large passages which are found in the Quarto are omitted in the Folio. . . . These amount to as many as two hundred and twenty-five lines; and they comprise one entire scene, and one or two of the most striking connected passages in the drama."

As I have shown elsewhere, many of these plays exist in several forms, brief, or more or less enlarged. Henry V, 1st Ed., 1603, contains 1,800 lines; enlarged (Folio, 1623), contains 3,500 lines. "In this elaboration the old materials are very carefully used up; but they are so thoroughly refitted and dovetailed with what is new, that the operation can only be compared to the work of a skillful architect, who, having an ancient mansion to enlarge and beautify, with a strict regard to its original character, preserves every feature of the structure, under other combinations, with such marvelous skill, that no unity or principle is violated, and the whole has the effect of a restoration in which the new and old are undistinguishable". Charles Knight; Pictorial Shakespeare, Histories, I, 310.

Heminge and Condell are made to declare that the play of Henry V and the rest, were printed from the true and original manuscript, that they "were absolute in their numbers as he conceived them; that what he thought, he uttered with that easiness, that they have scarce received from him a blot in his papers." From all which it appears that these ignorant players set up as the ostensible editors of the Folio, were made by the writer of the Dedication and Address, to lie repeatedly and

flagrantly, and their, or his, evidence as to the connection of William Shaksper with these plays, is of no value whatever. And yet, notwithstanding the patent fact that these men's names were put forth by a mendacious writer of paid advertisements, and that there is not an iota of truth in any one of the statements they are made to utter, their testimony is regarded by the Shaksperolaters as second in value only to that of Jonson, in his verses prefixed to the same Folio. The world is called on to believe that player Shaksper wrote the plays on the sole testimony of Jonson, and of Heminge and Condell. What Jonson's verses are worth, I have shown, and here are the others, self convicted liars. The whole squad of writers who introduced this Folio were of a class, apparently under a contract with the syndicate of publishers to chant the praises of the rich ex-manager. It suggests the paid effusions on the virtues of Pears soap or Payne's Celery Compound.

One of these writers was Leonard Digges, said by Farmer to have been a wit of the town, and he discourses thus:—

“Shakespeare at length thy pious fellowes give
The world thy Works; thy works by which outlive
Thy Tombe, thy name must; when that stone is rent,
And Time dissolves thy Stratford Moniment,
Here we alive shall view thee still.”

The same Digges wrote later, in 1640, also as a prefix to another Shakespeare volume, this time the poems:—

“Next nature only helped him, for look through
This whole book, thou shalt find he doth not borrow

One phrase from Greeks, nor Latins imitate,
Nor from the vulgar languages translate,
Nor plagiari-like from others glean," etc.

It is manifest that he had got beyond his depth, and was talking of a matter about which he knew nothing. The fact is, that the author or authors of the Shakespeare poems and plays laid all literature, ancient and modern, under contribution, and borrowed and translated without end. Digges must have had but a superficial acquaintance with the plays, not acquired from reading them, or he would not have mixed up *Twelfth Night* and *As You Like It*, as he did in these same verses. As he was born in 1588, he was in his youth when Shaksper left London for Stratford.

Forty years after Heminge and Condell's Preface appeared these words, cited by Shakspeareans in favor of their William:—

"Many were the wit-combats betwixt him and Ben Johnson, which two I behold like a Spanish great galleon and an English man-of-war; Master Johnson, (like the former) was built far higher in learning, solid, but slow in his performances. Shakespear, with the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention." Fuller, *Hist. of the Worthies of England*, II, 114. This is often made to read, "I beheld", as something Fuller was a personal witness to. Fuller was but eight years old when Shaksper died, and but two, when the player-manager quitted London. But the word in Fuller is "behold", which Knight says means "with his mind's eye." Morgan says, "a fancy

sketch of what Fuller thought likely to have occurred."

As to the "Mermaid," Raleigh founded that Club, and he and other gentlemen wits were in the habit of meeting there. We read of Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, Selden, Donne, Carew and others, but not of Shakespeare, nor Shaksper; nor is there any evidence of, or probability of, William Shaksper having had entrance to the Mermaid. His despised profession would have cut him off from that companionship. As well might a tumbler, or Savoyard bear-ward, seek admission to the Manhattan Club. "No matter how cleanly the lives of players might be", says Dr. Ingleby, "they were regarded *sans aveu* as runaways and vagrants"; and Phillipps says (I, 193) that they were then "regarded in about the same light with jugglers and buffoons."

Beyond this there is nothing from that age to connect William Shaksper the player with Shakespeare the poet. The Shakespeare critics quote Milton as a witness for Shaksper. I have spoken of this in Chapter X.

Milton was but seven years old when player Shaksper died. His mention of the poet Shakespeare in connection with the tomb of the player merely shows that in his time, or after the publication of the Folio, the plays were beginning to be attributed to the Stratford man; not at all that they were written by him. Milton never saw one of these plays acted, or the inside of a London theater; all his knowledge of Shakespeare came from reading the Folio. Milton's

pretty verses, therefore, are evidence of nothing but his own imaginative faculty.

Lee, 327, makes much of the lines by I. M. S., an unknown writer, contributed to the Second Folio of 1632, and calls it a splendid eulogy. Ingleby conjectures that the initial letters stand for *In Memoriam Scriptoris*. The opening lines declare Shakespeare's freehold to have been (Ing. 191):

"A mind reflecting ages past, whose clear
And equal surface can make things appear
Distant a thousand years, and represent
Them in their lively colours just extent."

It was his faculty,

"To outrun hasty time, retrieve the fates,
Roll back the heavens, blow ope the iron gates
Of death and Lethe, where (confused) lie
Great Heaps of ruinous mortality" (etc., through two pages).

This is to the author of the Shakespeare plays; not a hint in the lines of the player Shaksper, or that I. M. S. personally knew either the author or the player. Whoever wrote this effusion got his ideas of "Shakespeare" by reading the Folio.

The secret of the authorship has been well kept, and to this day there is no direct proof as to who the real author was. The Plays exist to demonstrate that there did live one man or several, who, singly, or unitedly, were equal to their composition; but that man could not have been William Shaksper, to whom under the stolen name of Shakespeare they have been credited for centuries. Undisputed possession during any length

of time is not entitled to respect, if the conditions involve impossibilities. To the time of Galileo, the whole civilized world believed that the earth circled around the sun every twenty-four hours, and it is only in our day that the story of William Tell and the apple has been relegated to the limbo of myths. "Our forefathers were quite confident about the existence of Romulus and Remus, of King Arthur, and of Hengist and Horsa."

William Shaksper, the player, is never reported to have been seen with a book in his hand, or as having owned or read one, nor as seen writing poems, or plays; or as having talked about such works; or as engaged in literary occupation of any description. As I show in Chapter XV, the probability that he could write with his own hand is exceedingly small. He simply kept his mouth shut, and by a fine irony, the world has for three hundred years accepted him as its greatest poet. Twenty-five hundred years ago, one said: "Even a fool when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise; and he that shutteth his lips is esteemed a man of understanding."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SONNETS.

In 1609, a book appeared bearing the title "Shakespeare's Sonnets.—Never before imprinted.—At London, by G. Eld for T. T., and are to be sold by John Wright dwelling at Christ Church Gate, 1609." T. T. stood for one Thomas Thorpe, whom Mr. Lee makes out to have been a publisher's jackall. Thorpe dedicated the book "To the only Begetter of these issuing Sonnets, Mr. W. H., all Happiness and that Eternity promised by our ever-living poet, wisheth the well-wishing Adventure in setting forth.—T. T."

Who wrote the Sonnets no one knew in 1609, for to say they were "Shake-speare's" Sonnets was equivalent to saying that they were by an unknown writer. It is not known to this day who wrote them, nor to whom they were dedicated. They have been attributed to Sidney, to Leicester, to Raleigh, to Francis and Anthony Bacon, to the unknown "Shakespeare" of the plays, and to the Stratford William Shaksper. It was an age of sonnetteering. In 1591, Sidney's sonnets entitled "Astrophel and Stella" were published, and "for the half dozen years following, the writing of sonnets engaged more literary activity in this country than at any period here or elsewhere. Between 1591 and 1597 no aspirant to poetic fame failed to seek a patron's ears by a trial of skill on the popular poetic instrument. Lee, 83: "It was not till the spring of 1593 that

Shakespeare (meaning Shaksper) became a sonneteer on an extended scale. Of the 154 Sonnets, the greater number were, in all likelihood, composed between 1593 and the autumn of 1594, during his thirtieth and thirty-first year." Id. 85. (Shaksper was born in 1564.) Of course, there is not a particle of evidence showing that this Shaksper ever held a pen in hand,—in fact, there is strong evidence to the contrary, but the conditions are such as to require that all the work done by "William Shake-speare", whoever he was, should be transferred to player Shaksper, and so we build up "the bard of our admiration."

It is of importance to fix the date at which the Sonnets were written, 1593-4.

Judge Jesse Johnson,—"Testimony of the Sonnets as to the Authorship," etc. Putnams, 1899,—also holding that the Sonnets were composed when William Shaksper would have been about thirty years old, calls attention to the fact that by their own showing they were written by a man well past middle age—perhaps fifty or sixty years old, certainly not under forty—and therefore could not have been written by the Stratford man.

In Sonnet 73, he speaks of his period of life thus:—

*That time of year, thou mayst in me behold,
When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
Upon the boughs which shake against the cold.*

*In me thou seest the twilight of each day
As after sunset fadeth in the west.*

*In me thou seest the glowing of such fire
That on the ashes of his youth doth lie,*

Sonnet 62 :

But when *my glass shows me myself* indeed
Beated and chopped with tann'd antiquity.

Sonnet 63:

Against my love shall be *as I am now*
 With time's injurious hand crushed and o'erworn;
When hours have drained his blood and fill'd his brow,
With lines and wrinkles; when his youthful morn
Hath travell'd on to age's sleepy night, etc.

"As clearly as words can say, the poet states that he is on the sunset side of life, and indicates that he is well advanced toward its close."

Sonnet 38:

Thus *vainly* thinking that she thinks me young,
Although she knows my days are past the best.

And wherefore say not I that I am old?

O, love's best habit is in seeming trust,
And age in love loves not to have years told.

Johnson adds: "These Sonnets seem to be based on actual occurrences. If so, certainly we may construe them literally; and read literally they appear to be an old man's lament at having been superseded by a younger though much loved rival."

As to whom the Sonnets were dedicated, "Mr. W. H.", there has been great diversity of opinion among the commentators, some holding William, Lord Herbert, to be the man; others, Walter Raleigh, taking the first and last letters of his name. But Mr. Lee knows by intuition that Shaksper was never on terms

of intimacy with Lord Herbert, "although the contrary has often been recklessly assumed." 94.

Then he himself recklessly assumes an intimacy between Shaksper and the Earl of Southampton. There is not merely no evidence of such an intimacy, but no probability and no possibility of it. Lee goes to the length of devoting twenty-five pages to this Earl, and gives a full-page cut of him, that we may know what a brave friend Shaksper had.

Mr. Lee was preceded in the Southampton view by Gerald Massey, "The Secret Drama of Shakspeare's Sonnets", 1888, who wrote a thick quarto volume in an effort to prove that these sonnets were written by William Shaksper—in part, to Southampton, as his intimate friend; in part, for Southampton to his mistress, Elizabeth Vernon; in part, for Elizabeth Vernon to Lady Rich; in part, for Southampton, in lament for his imprisonment in the Tower; and twenty-seven of them "were composed by Shakspeare at the suggestion of young Will Herbert upon his infatuation for the siren, Lady Rich". In fact Mr. Massey would make the Sonnets to be as much of a drama as was any one of the Shakespeare plays.

It is not a difficult matter to dispose of this Southampton myth. Here in Massey's pages are letters running from 1595 to 1605 by the "kindly old gossip" Rowland White, (published in full in the Sydney Memoirs), recounting everything that would interest Southampton, or Essex, or Herbert and their friends, and nowhere is there a mention of Shaksper or Shakespeare. "Herbert was one of the Essex group of Shakespeare's 'private friends'", 230. "Bacon as a

frequenter of the theater with Essex and Southampton, and other of the private friends'' (of Shaksper) etc., 393. Not only does Rowland White fail to speak of Shaksper, but in all the letters of that age detailing the gossip of the town as to the movements and occupations of these nobles, or of anybody else, there is no mention of Shaksper's name as connected with Southampton—indeed, no mention at all. So great an authority as Richard Grant White assures us that "there is no proof whatever that Shaksper was personally known to Raleigh, Sidney, Spenser, Bacon, (and a dozen other distinguished contemporaries named) or to any of less note among the statesmen, scholars and artists of his day, *except the few of his fellow-craftsmen.*"

The myths as to Southampton originated in the two dedications prefixed by a bookseller to the *Venus and Adonis*, and the *Lucrece*; and to the apocryphal story of gossip Rowe, a hundred years after the alleged event, as to Southampton having presented Shaksper with a thousand pounds—because without such an interposition, it was not easy for the quid-nuncs to account for Shaksper's purchase of houses and lands in and about Stratford. Shaksper may have seen Southampton through a telescope, but as to a near approach to such a luminary, the customs of that age make the idea preposterous.

Mr. W. D. O'Connor, "Hamlet's Note-Book", Boston, 1886, sees Raleigh as the author of these Sonnets—"The allusions of the writer to his overweening pride in himself, to his inordinate love of personal adornment, (Son. 125); his costly apparel, (126); at

another stage, to his poverty, (37); to his physical lameness, (37, 69); to his advanced age (63, 73, 138); to his drained blood (63); to his brow, trenched and wrinkled by time, to his deeply tanned complexion, the ingrained sunburn of the field and the voyage, (62); the references to the guilt imputed to himself (111); the public scandal, the disgrace (29); the brand upon his name (111, 112); the reference to his expectation of a bloody death at the hands of the public executioner (174); the Lion-roar of the 125th Sonnet at the 'suborned informer',—all this and much more confirm the assertion of Raleigh as the author of these strange and splendid poems."

One of the most strenuous defenders of the Sidney authorship is Judge John H. Stotsenburg, and in *Baconiana* for May, 1893, he gives reasons for his faith: "The first is, that love is the chief word and argument of the Sonnets. It is found in them more than 200 times. It is the word which tells the poet's name. It is so stated in Sonnet 76. Sidney arranged his name in the form of an anagram. Having abridged the name into Phil. Sid., he anagrammatized it into Philisides—translated Sid (the abridgment of Sid-us) into astra, and retaining the Phil—as derived from Philidos, loved, he constructed another pseudonym and adopted the poetical name of Astrophel, star of love, or love-star. He distinguishes the Lady Rich, the bright particular star of his affections, as Stella. In the Sonnet 76, he could truthfully say 'that every word doth almost tell my name.'

"A second reason is based on the proper interpreta-

tion of the 7th line of Son. 20, which has been a stumbling block to all the commentators.

“‘A man in hue, all hues in his controlling.’”

Sidney had two friends, Sir Edward Dyer and Fulke Greville, and his love for them was passing the love of women. The Sonnets are addressed to Dyer. The three friends in their poems, were fond of punning upon their own names. So, in Sonnet 20, Sidney puns upon Dyer's name, likening him to a dyer, who in his business controls and fixes all hues and colors.

“Sonnets 37, 66, 110 and 125 fairly describe Sidney. He was poor and proud; his parents were always distressed by poverty. He bore the canopy (125) as a gentleman-in-waiting, for the Queen in the summer of 1578, and he learned enough from personal intercourse with courtiers, male and female, to utter the mournful cry which is contained in Son. 66. He could well say that he was ‘made lame by fortune's dearest spite’ (38). He was not suffered to marry Anne Cecil. Penelope Devereux, whom he dearly loved, was given to a man whom she hated and despised. He was fond of spending money, and withal liberal and aristocratic, and yet he could not get money; was greatly in debt, was in disgrace at court, was a dependent upon Leicester; he had made himself ‘a motley to the view’ (110).”

Son. 127 to 132 clearly refers to Sidney's mistress, Lady Rich, and he intimates that Dyer had supplanted him in her affections.

Even Mr. Massey tells us that Shakespeare's Sonnets were modeled on those of Sidney: “Twenty

years ago I did not do justice to Sidney nor see how great a fostering influence he had been to Shakspeare; nor know how far their sonnets are bound up together. . . . The distilled sweetness, the anti-thetic thoughts as well as expression, the serious kind of wit are at times pre-eminently Shakspearean. . . . In this way *Love's Labour's Lost* is alive with Sidney." There are many who hold with Judge Stotsenburg that Sidney wrote the "Shakspeare" Sonnets. The proposition of Shaksper's authorship is based on some word of Meres, in 1598, in which he attributes by name certain plays to "Shakspeare," together with the *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, and "certain sugred sonnets among his private friends,"—made so much of by Massey. He and all the Shakspeareans assume, without the slightest evidence of it, that the "sugred sonnets" spoken of were the sonnets afterwards published by Thorpe as "Shakspeare's."

Judge Holmes holds that the Sonnets were the work of Francis Bacon, and finds plenty of corroborating evidence in the language, and in the allusions. The fact is, that these sonnets can be made to attach to many sorts and conditions of men, and to every one of them more clearly than to William Shaksper. They have nothing whatever in common with what we know of or about him.

Massey argues that the dedication to the *Venus and Adonis* (published 1593) is a fulfillment of the intentions expressed in Sonnet 26; and hence that the first twenty-six sonnets must have been written in 1592 or 1591; or perhaps earlier, as "Nash offers good

ground for thinking that Shakespeare had been heard of as a sonneteer as early as 1590." Let us look at this.

According to Phillipps, William Shaksper came to London in 1585, when twenty-one years old; according to R. G. White, in 1586, when twenty-two. Phillipps tells us that "removed prematurely from school, residing with illiterate relations in a bookless neighborhood, it is difficult to believe that when he left Stratford he was not all but destitute of polished accomplishments." Also that as soon as he found employment with the actors he must have gone with them on their provincial tours, and thinks that this wandering life began by 1587. Mr. White tells us that when young Shaksper left Stratford, "we may be sure he had never seen half a dozen books other than his horn-book, his Latin Accidence, and a Bible; that "probably there were not half a dozen other books in all Stratford."

Whether the year was 1585 or 1586, Shaksper was plainly an unlicked and unlettered country boy when he entered London, of course with a very limited vocabulary, and that of the barbarous jargon he had learned in his native village.

But, according to Massey, three or four years have scarcely passed, when this young fellow, who all the time has lived amid low surroundings, with associates classed as vagabonds, is found to be writing sonnets to one of the nobles of the realm, in terms that imply extreme intimacy between the two, and discovers an acquaintance with great ladies, and with the forms and usages of their class; and this in the choicest lan-

guage, employing a very extended vocabulary. Furthermore, the sonnets were modeled on those of Sidney, showing careful and continued study of the latter. The very statement of the facts is enough to disprove Shaksper's authorship of the twenty-six sonnets, and these are the key to the remainder.

CHAPTER XIV.

LAST YEARS AT STRATFORD, AND DEATH OF SHAK-
SPER.

Green, "Short History of England," 427, says: "His last dramas (Othello, etc.) were written in the midst of ease and competence, in the house in which he lived as a country gentleman with his wife and daughter"; speaking, of course, of Shaksper, the ex-theater proprietor. Mr. Phillips, on the contrary, gives facts which, he says, lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the poet abandoned literary occupations a considerable period before his decease. So he was not writing his dramas in the house at Stratford, in which he lived as a country gentleman. He lived there, at any rate, as a most unfortunate country gentleman. "If truth and not romance is to be invoked, were the woodbine and honeysuckle within reach of the poet's death-bed, their fragrance would have been neutralized by their vicinity to middens, fetid water-courses, mud-walls and piggeries." H.-P., I, 267. He went back to Stratford, "the dirtiest village in all Britain," because he liked the sort of people who lived there, and the life they led. He would have been utterly out of place in a genteel or cultivated community. What his neighbors thought of his 15,000 or 21,000 vocabulary, we are not told. Imagine his addressing them in the language of Hamlet or Love's Labour's Lost. It could not have astonished them more had he set up a Krupp

gun in the dooryard. Traditions of the vocabulary, and the unknown tongue he had brought to Stratford, would certainly have lasted one hundred years. That, and his amazing erudition, did not discover itself in any effort to educate his daughters, for, at the age of twenty-seven, Judith could not sign her name. The author of the plays wrote: "Ignorance is the curse of God. Knowledge the wings wherewith we fly to heaven." But the player Shaksper allowed his children to grow up in ignorance. His oldest daughter was the wife of a physician, himself an author of medical works, and after the death of her husband she was unable to distinguish between manuscripts in his handwriting and those of other men.*

The immediate descendants of the player stood on the same level of illiteracy with his ancestors. As to writing plays in his retirement, the books the author would have had to consult to write simply the five plays mentioned by Green would have filled any room in his house. If Green is correct, at the player's death, some of the greatest of the immortal plays "must have been lying about the house in manuscript, running the risk of illiterate Judith tearing them up to make curl-papers of". But Phillipps assures us that the facts which he has been con-

* The conversation here recorded would appear to show that Mrs. Hall's education had not been of an enlarged character; that books and manuscripts, even when they were the production of her own husband, were not of much interest to her. Were it otherwise, it would be difficult to account for the pertinacity with which she insisted upon the book of cases not being in the doctor's handwriting." H.-P., I, 277.

sidering lead to the irresistible conclusion that William Shaksper was engaged in no literary work for a considerable period before his decease. That he was not is also evident from the fact that at his death there was no manuscript of a play, or anything else, in his house—not even a printed book; and that he had no ownership in manuscripts or in printed plays.

“It was the general opinion in the convivial days of Shaksper that ‘a quart of ale is a dish for a king.’ So impressed were nearly all classes of society by its attractions, it was imbibed wherever it was found. . . . It would appear from this tradition that the poet, one summer’s morning, set out from his native town for a walk over Bardon hill to the village of Bidford, six miles distant, a place said to have been noted for its revelry. When he had nearly reached his destination, he happened to meet with a shepherd, and jocosely inquired of him if the Bidford Drinkers were at home. The rustic, perfectly equal to the occasion, replied that the Drinkers were absent, but that he would easily find the Sippers, and that the latter might perhaps be sufficiently jolly to meet his expectations. The anticipations of the shepherd were fully realized, and Shaksper, in bending his way homeward, late in the evening, found an acceptable interval of rest under the branches of a crab tree which was situated about a mile from Bidford. . . . It is added that he was overtaken with drowsiness, and that he did not renew the course of his journey until the following morning. . . . That there is at least some foundation for the tale may be gathered from the fact that, as early as the year 1762, the tree

then known as Shaksper's Canopy, was regarded at Stratford-on-Avon as an object of great interest". H.-P., I, 236.

"An amplification of it (the traditional account) is narrated by Jordan in a manuscript written about the year 1770: 'I shall not hesitate relating it as it was verbally delivered to me. Our poet was extremely fond of drinking hearty draughts of English ale, and gloried in being thought a person of superior eminence in that profession, if I may be allowed the phrase. . . . Our bard and his companions got so intolerably intoxicated that they were not able to contend any longer, and accordingly set out on their return to Stratford, but had not got above half a mile on the road ere they found themselves unable to proceed any farther, and were obliged to lie down under a crab-tree, where they took up their repose until morning,' etc., etc. Id., II, 325.

"Some of the ramifications of the tale are sufficiently ludicrous. Thus we are told in Brewer's Description of the County of Warwick that those who repeat the tradition in the neighborhood of Stratford invariably assert that the whole party slept undisturbed from the Saturday night till the following Monday morning, when they were aroused by workmen going to their labor." Id., 328. It is evident that the Stratfordians believed the rich owner of New Place to have been a confirmed toper.

We have seen the boy, the youth, the man in London, and have come to understand pretty well what manner of individual he was; this man "who, after such thaumaturgy, could go down to Stratford and

live there for years, only collecting his dividends from the Globe theater, lending money on mortgage, and leaning over his gate to chat and bandy quips with his neighbors". Lowell, 172.

In his retirement at Stratford, Rowe says, (on his own surmise) writing in 1709, nearly one hundred years after the player's death, that the concluding period of Shakspeare's life "was spent as all men of good sense will wish theirs may be, in ease, retirement, and conversation of friends"; that he retained his literary intimacies to the end, and occasionally visited London; and "was content with the fortune his incessant labors had secured." That is it! He had worked incessantly to make a fortune, and at the same time is supposed to have worked incessantly to gain a vocabulary, a knowledge of the Bible, and all sorts of learning. Two bodies cannot be in the same place at the same time. Rowe says nothing of any tradition that he was engaged in writing or amending plays, or that he was the possessor of an astounding vocabulary.

Finally the ex-player dies of a fever contracted by spending a night under a tree, or on the road, after a big spree. H.-P., I, 261, puts the case euphemistically thus: "It is recorded that the party was a jovial one; and according to a late, but apparently genuine, tradition, when the great dramatist was returning to New Place in the evening, he had taken more than was conducive to pedestrian accuracy. Shortly afterwards, he was seized by the lamentable fever which terminated fatally, April 23rd, 1616. The cause of the malady, then attributed to undue festivity, would

now be readily discernible in the wretched sanitary conditions surrounding his residence."

Shaksper's Will bears date the 25th March, 1616, and he died the following April. The preamble of the Will stated that the testator was "in perfect health". Phillipps, I, 203, says: "It is satisfactory to know that the invalid's mind was as yet unclouded, several of the interlineations that were added on the occasion having obviously emanated from himself. And it is not necessary to follow the general opinion that the signatures betray the tremulous hand of illness. It may be observed that the words 'by me', which, the autographs excepted, are the only ones in the poet's handwriting known to exist, appear to have been penned with ordinary firmness."

Per contra, William Winter, "Shakespeare's England", Ed. 1896, 171, says: "His handwriting in the three signatures to that paper conspicuously exhibit the uncertainty and lassitude of his shattered nerves." The fact is, that the first signature was written in a sturdy hand, indicating neither feebleness nor nervousness. The same is true of the "Willin" of the second signature, and of the "By me William", of the third. Perhaps the uncertainty discovered consists in the fact that the three signatures exhibit three styles of writing. Possibly that was the result of shattered nerves.

In the Will, Shaksper disposes of a great amount of real property, houses, lands, orchards, lying in half a dozen towns, and in London; of personal property, money, gold to buy rings for several individuals, his "silver gilt bole" to Judith, his plate and jewels and

household stuff, to Dr. Hall and Susanna, his daughter, and in an interlineation gives "unto my wife my second best bed with the furniture," there being no further mention of her in the instrument. "It is strange that she does not appear as executrix, that she had no life interest left her in house or furniture, and that in the draft of the Will, as made in January, her name does not appear to have been mentioned at all. It is only in the subsequent interlineations that the bequest appears." Fleay, 72.

"Shaksperc's will was one of great particularity, making little legacies to nephews and nieces, and leaving swords and rings to friends and acquaintances; and yet his wife's name is omitted from the document in its original form, and only appears by an afterthought, in an interlineation, as if his attention had been called to the omission. The lack of any other bequest than the furniture of her chamber is of small moment in comparison with the slight shown by that interlineation." R. G. White.

Lee says, 274: "Several wills of the period have been discovered in which a bed-stead or other article of household furniture formed part of a wife's inheritance, but none, except Shaksperc's, is forthcoming in which a bed forms the sole bequest. At the same time, the precision with which Shaksperc's will accounts for and assigns to other legatees every known item of his property, refutes the conjecture that he had set aside any of it under a previous settlement or jointure with a view to making independent provision for his wife. Her right to a widow's dower—*i. e.*, to a third share in freehold

estate—was not subject to testamentary disposition, but Shakspere had taken steps to prevent her from benefiting—at any rate to the full extent—by that legal arrangement. He had barred her dower in case of his latest purchase, viz., the house at Blackfriars. Such procedure is pretty conclusive proof that he had the intention of excluding her from the enjoyment of his possessions after his death." An agreeable man to live with and be bound to, truly. I have before quoted the writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1897, that Mrs. Anne Shakespeare "served as raw material to be worked up into Imogenes and Rosalinds—enchanted creatures!"

Malone says: "His wife had not wholly escaped his memory; he had forgot her—he had recollected her—but so recollected her as more strongly to mark how little he esteemed her; he had already cut her off, not indeed with a shilling, but with an old bed." He had married the widow Whately in haste, and had repented at leisure. He ran away from wife and babies, and for nine years had deserted them; and when he came to make his Will, he forgot that he had a wife. For myself, I see nothing to be surprised at in this behavior of William Shaksper—it was thoroughly characteristic of him.

There is no mention of library, or books, or poems, or plays, or manuscripts, or any literary effects whatever.

If William Shaksper was the author of the plays, he was, by the evidence of the plays themselves, a man of vast and varied learning, owner of very many books, in both ancient and modern languages; and

“he left behind him, unpublished at his death, such marvelous and mighty works as the *Tempest*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *Coriolanus*, *Timon of Athens*, and many more; and while he carefully bequeathed his old clothes, and disposed of his second best bed, he not only made no provision for the publication of his works, but no mention of either books or manuscripts, or book-cases, or writing table, or anything at all suggestive of literary labor. What man capable of writing *Macbeth* and *Julius Caesar*, and knowing their value to mankind, knowing that they lay in his house in some cabinet, box, or press, probably in but one manuscript copy each, and that they might perish in the hands of his illiterate family and bookless neighbors—would, while carefully remembering so much of the litter and refuse of the world, have died and made no provision for their publication?” Donnelly, 100.

“Not only is there no mention of his literary friends, but an entire absence of reference to his own compositions. . . . The editors of the First Folio speak, indeed, in a tone of regret at his death having rendered a personal edition an impossibility; but they merely allude to this as a matter of fact and as a devolution of the task upon themselves. They nowhere say, as they might naturally have done had it been the case, that the poet himself had meditated such an undertaking, or even that the slightest preparations for it had been made during the years of his retirement. . . . It may be safely averred that the leading facts in the case, especially the apathy exhibited by the poet in his days of leisure, all tend to the persuasion that the composition of the immortal dramas

was mainly stimulated by pecuniary results that were desired for the realization of social and domestic advantages. It has been frequently observed that, if this view is accepted, it is at the expense of investing him with a mean and sordid disposition''. H.-P. I, 262. Certainly, this man was not the author of the plays, and had no interest in them, pecuniary or other. His life had been devoted to a single object and by his incessant labors he had reached it. Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also, and Shaksper's treasure was not in literature, but in nuggets.

CHAPTER XV.

THAT WILLIAM SHAKSPER NEVER LEARNED TO
WRITE.

I here propose to show that the best possible reason for the absence, not only of book manuscripts among William Shaksper's effects, but of letters, memoranda, or any scrap of his writing whatever, was, that this man never learned the manual art of writing.

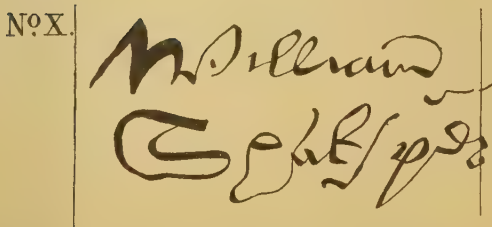
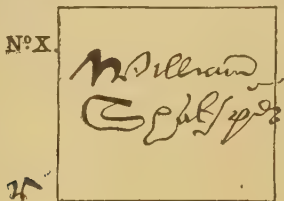
The author of the Shakespeare plays must have covered scores of reams of paper with his written lines, and have accumulated memoranda innumerable. Of the other man, player, and rich citizen of Stratford, there are extant just five specimens of his handwriting, if we are to accept all that his devotees claim for him. Five times he is alleged to have signed his name, as is evidenced by the existing signatures, and one of them is prefixed by the two words "By me." That is all there is to show of the literary work of William Shaksper. Following Malone's Inquiry, 119:—"On the 10th of March, 1612-13, Shaksper purchased from one Henry Walker a small estate in Blackfriars, for one hundred and forty pounds, eighty of which he appears to have paid down; and he mortgaged the premises for the remainder. In the year 1768, the mortgage-deed, which was dated the 11th of March, but without doubt executed on the same day as the deed of bargain and sale, (like our

modern conveyances of Lease and Release), was found by Mr. Albany Wallis among the title deeds of the Rev. Mr. Featherstonaugh, of Oxford, Surrey, and was presented by him to the late Mr. Garrick. From that deed the fac-simile above mentioned was made." The fac-simile was published by Malone, in 1790, and all the copies of this signature in books of later date follow Malone, because the original deed, shortly after 1790, or before 1796, disappeared.

Malone continues: "As I have not the pleasure of being acquainted with Mrs. Garrick, to whom I was indebted on that occasion, Lord Orford very obligingly requested her to furnish me once more with the deed to which our poet's autograph is affixed; but that lady, after a careful search, was not able to find it, it having by some means or other been either mislaid or stolen from her." (I see that Mr. Lee, 284, says that this mortgage-deed has been in the British Museum since 1858. When and where it was found he does not tell us.)

Malone—further:—"On the same day on which I received this account, I called upon Mr. Wallis, to whom the deeds of Mr. Featherstonaugh, after having been a long time out of his hands, have been lately restored; among them he luckily met with the counterpart of the original deed of bargain and sale, made on the 10th of March, 1612-13, which furnished me with our poet's name. . . . Mr. Wallis having obligingly permitted me to make use of this new autograph of our poet, a fac-simile of it will be found in Plate II, No. X."

I here give a photographic copy of this No. X, taken from Malone's Plate II; and also an enlargement of it, that each letter and stroke may be seen distinctly. (The letter in the lower left hand corner of this cut, Malone gives as the German *r*, "much used by scribes in the time of Elizabeth and



James''. p. 122.) Knight, p. 164, says of this counterpart of the original deed; that it was sold in 1841, at auction, and was purchased by the corporation of London; in whose possession it remains to this day. Halliwell-Phillipps says, I, 239: "The conveyance deeds of this house bear the date of March the 10th, 1613, but in all probability they were not executed until the following day, and at the same time that the mortgage was

effected. *The latter transaction was completed in Shakespeare's presence on the eleventh. . . .* The independent witnesses present on the occasion consisted of Atkinson . . . and a person by the name of Overy. . . . To these were joined the then usual official attestors, the scriveners who drew up the deeds and his assistant,* the latter, one Henry Lawrence, having the honor of lending his seal to the great dramatist, who thus, to the great disappointment of posterity, impressed the wax of both his labels with the initials H. L. instead of those of his own name."

On this recital, I would observe that Mr. Phillipps takes pains to tell us that the mortgage was completed in Shaksper's presence, which apparently is a very odd statement, implying, as it does, that mortgages were sometimes completed when the mortgagors were not present. But at that day, "sealing alone was sufficient to authenticate a deed", and so it was until the reign of Charles II. Writing was a rare accomplishment. Also, as Mr. Phillipps' fac-similes show, signatures were sometimes signed by proxy, by one of the bystanders who was able to write. Thus, Vol. II, p. 233, Sept. 20, 1575, William Wedgewood sells to Edward Willis two tenements in Stratford, one of which was in the possession of John Shaksper (sic) yeoman." On this Mr. Phillipps says: "This indenture was witnessed by John Shaksper, but it is scarcely necessary to observe that the name is not an autograph,"—be-

* Malone, p. 235, tells us that "those who are conversant with deeds of that period know that the Scrivener who drew them, and his servant or apprentice, were almost always witnesses to them."

cause, as before said, John could not write, and made his mark. Phillipps gives fac-similes of the name and the accompanying words in each case, "the tenement of John Shakesper yeoman", and "Wytnesse John Shakesper", (Wyth my hand). Here John witnesses a deed, but another man writes his name. I have copied this signature in Chap. 1 (cut 2).

Again, on page 231, we read:—"On 12 Feby., 1569, Thomas Stringer granted a lease (of a certain estate mentioned) to Alexr. Webbe, and *the indenture, as well as a bond of even date* for the performance of the covenants, *was witnessed* amongst others *by John Shaxspere*, the name in each instance being in the handwriting of the scrivener, and without a mark." Not only deeds and mortgages, but bonds attested by a witness whose name was signed not by his own hand, but by that of another man!

On p. 238, we read: "At a meeting of the corporation held on 5 September, 1582, Johannes Shaxper (sic) was present, and voted for John Sadler, the successful candidate for office of bailiff", etc., and a fac-simile of John's name, as written by the clerk, is given, p. 236, beautifully done, each letter distinct, the terminal one being the German *r*, undoubtedly making the name Shaxper, as Phillipps here renders it. This fac-simile was also, before given, Chap. I, cut 4.

Phillipps does not speak of the peculiar *r*, which in this instance he calls *r*, though usually he interprets it *re*, and we would know nothing of it except for Malone, who not only says it is the German *r*, much in vogue among the scriveners of that age, but gives a cut of it, in the corner of his copy of the Deed sig-

nature No. X, reproduced here on page 387, that there may be no mistake as to which he means. It is the same letter, as appears by the presentation given by Malone, as that which distinctly ends the first of the Will

William
 Esq^r/p^r

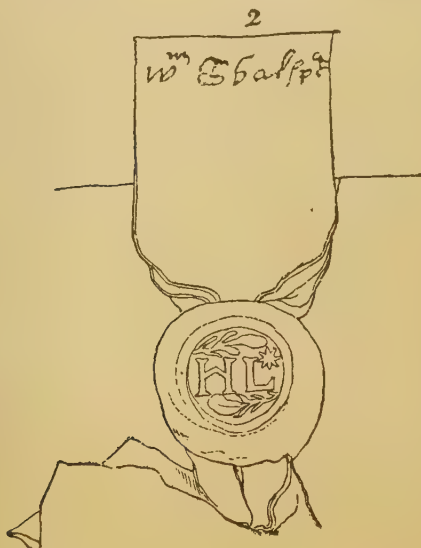
1
 William
 Esq^r/p^r

W^m Esq^r/p^r

signatures, and the second signature, following Lee. It is the habit of the Shakspeareans to call it *re*, so as to get the name Shakspeare, for it would never do to allow the Stratford man's name to end in *per*, when the poet's name ended in *peare*.

I now give cuts of the counterpart deed and the mortgage signatures, issued by the Boston Public Library, under the supervision of the then librarian, Hon. Mellen Chamberlain.

No. 1 (p. 390) is a copy of Malone's 1790 figure, the

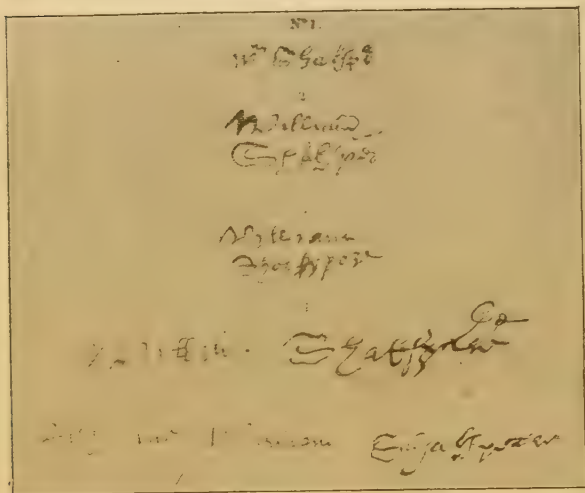


mortgage; the other was taken from the counterpart of the deed, now owned by the corporation of London.

No. 2 shows the wax on the label, stamped with the initials of Henry Lawrence. Yet W. Shaksper, ex-showman, is alleged to have owned a signet ring, and

such an article forms part of the "museum of doubtful relics and gim-cracks" that R. G. White saw at the house in Henley Street.

The cut next given is a copy of all the five signatures, taken for me by Merritt, photographer, Washington, July, 1896, from Drake's "Shakespeare and



His Times'', London, 1817, at the Congressional Library. The signatures as given by Drake, have been re-copied in many works of recent years, as Burr's Proof, Donnelly's Cryptogram, Reed's Bacon v. Shakespeare and others.

Drake's page is headed, "Five Genuine Autographs

of Shakespeare." Then follow the signatures, and beneath, this explanation. "No. 1 is from Shakespeare's Mortgage, 1612-13. No. 2 is from the Deed—Malone's Plate II, No. X. No. 3 is from the first brief of Shakespeare's Will; No. 4 is from the second; No. 5 from the third brief of the Will." Dr. Drake says that the second Will signature is written Shakspe re, with a hiatus. On his fac-simile of this signature—over and above the hiatus—appears what has been taken for a capital *E*, and on the tail of it, elevated to the top, a small *r*. Drake explains these superimposed characters thus: "The hiatus is unaccounted for in the fac-simile given by Malone; but in the plate of Chalmers' Apology (1797), it is found to have been occasioned by the intrusion of the word *the* of the preceding line." Drake has followed Chalmers in his fac-simile, rather than Malone, and what appears to be *E r* turns out to be *h e*, part of the word *the* of the line next over the signature. (In Lee's copy of these signatures, presently to be given, it will be seen that the writer of this signature jumped over the loop of the *h* of upper line, so that there is no letter between the *e* and the *r*.)

There is no important discrepancy between the Deed and Mortgage signatures as given by Malone, Drake, and Harris. I have copied the several versions of them, in order that there may be no mistake as to what Shaksper's name was, when he had retired from business, and lived at his ease, the rich man of Stratford.

In the autumn of his life he was known as Shakspar, or Shaksper, if these deeds are worth anything

as evidence. Both may or may not have been signed

in the absence of Shaksper, for Phillipps' assertion that he was present at the completion of the mortgage is merely his own conjecture, but certainly the other party to them accepted the names as written as correct. If these signatures are genuine, the Shakspeareans may explain how it was that a man, on twice signing his name within the period of a few minutes, or even a day, should write it in two entirely different hands, and spell both given names and surnames differently.

One surname is spelled Shakspar. When first written it was Shakspr, and the *a* was an afterthought to make a proper syllable. The other is spelled Shaksper. The *W* and *m* of the first signature are not like the corresponding letters of William of the second, and no one letter of one surname is like the corresponding letter of the other. Clearly, the two signatures are not by the same hand, however it may be explained. Nevertheless, suppose the signatures genuine, as all Shakspe-

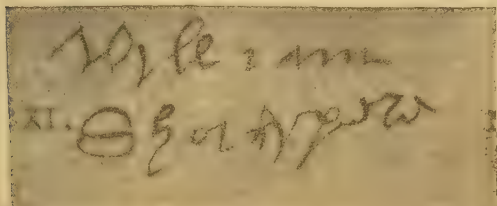
Wm
Shakspar
No. XI.

Wm
Shakspar
No. XII.

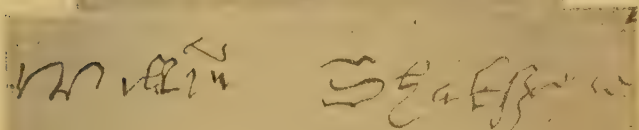
Wm
Shakspar
No. XI.

Wm
Shakspar
No. XII.

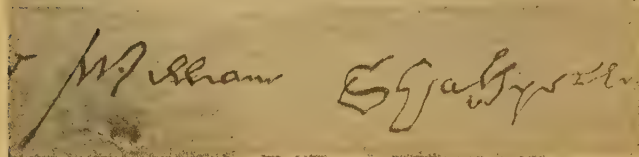
reans seem to believe, or wish to believe, then what was this man's name? In 1612, it certainly was Shaksper, and by no means Shakspeare. If there is an occasion in life when exactness is called for, it is in signing deeds and mortgages, and beyond all ques-



My be : am
W. Shaksper



William Shaksper



William Shaksper

tion, the parties with whom the player was dealing, in 1612, when the Blackfriars lot was bought, understood his name to be as he then wrote it, or had it written, Shakspar, or Shaksper—in pronunciation there would be no difference.

The other three signatures are written on the three sheets of Shaksper's Will, which document is pre-

served in the Prerogative Office, Doctor's Commons, London.

Malone, "An Inquiry", 1796, says: "In the year 1776, Mr. Steevens, in my presence, traced with the utmost accuracy the three signatures affixed by the poet to his Will"; and he gives copies of them in Plate II, Nos. XI, XII, XIII. I have had a photographic copy, natural size, and another set enlarged, made from this Plate II, and give them on pages 394 and 395.

I present also a cut of the second and third Will signatures, put forth by the Boston Public Library:

1201411. Steevens
262 no William Shakespeare

On asking for the history of the Boston copy of the five signatures, Mr. Putnam, the Librarian, kindly wrote me, June, 1896, as follows: "The Shakespeare autographs mentioned by you", (the two of the deeds and the three of the Will), "are heliotype reproductions of a lithograph published at London, in 1843, by T. Todd, with a title as follows: 'Shakespeare's autographs just published, price 2s. The most correct copies of all the authentic autographs of William Shakespeare; consisting of the autographs attached to the Will in the Prerogative Office; that written upon the fly leaf of Montaigne's Essays in the British Mu-

seum; the signature attached to the original [deed] purchased for the city of London Library); and the one to the mortgage deed (dated) the following day. All most accurately copied and also enlarged. . . .
By J. Harris.' "

This means that the three Will signatures, and the one from the counterpart deed were copied from the originals by J. Harris. The signature of the mortgage deed must, however, have been copied from Steevens or Malone. Harris' copy of the first Will signature shows the effect of time after 1776, when Steevens made his tracing, the letters being abraded and broken up, the surname quite unrecognizable. Therefore I do not give a copy of it. These signatures are not only entirely, (in every letter), unlike the two signatures of the deeds, but are unlike each other. The first one is not badly written. The *a* is the German *a*, the terminal *r* is also given in the German form.

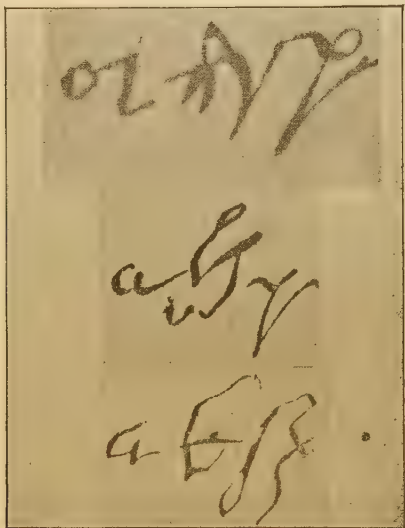
(I gave a cut, (4) on p. 12, showing the name of John Shaksper ending with the German *r*, and so read by Phillipps; also another, cut 5, of the same letter written hastily.)

The Christian name over the other in the first of these signatures, indicates that the writer was not accustomed to sign his name, or to write other persons names, as a business man invariably did and does, the given name in line with the surname.

The second signature in both names is poorly written; as Malone saw it, the letters are *S h a k s p e*, followed by a wide break and the German *r*.

The original hand that made the third signature

safely reached *p*, but what follows has been a perplexity to the editors. Malone says that he concluded at first that the letters were *care*, but later, that what he had taken for an *a* was a superfluous stroke when the poet came to write the letter *r*. In his copy, all



the lines here are light, and the superfluous stroke he speaks of is distinct and is nothing like the letter *a*. Canceling this stroke, the name is left Shaksper, for the final letter is only a bungling attempt at an *r*. In Lee, the lines after *p* are heavier than in Malone, but the superfluous stroke is just as in Malone. In the version of this signature on Knight's, page 168, *Life of*

W. S. (1843), all the lines of the last syllable are heavy, and he gets a very fair *a* out of the *z* mark—a case of fraud.

I offer a much enlarged copy of the letters *a k s p* of Malone's three Will signatures in order to show how different they are, and how impossible it is that one and the same hand wrote them (see p. 398):

On the following page I give a copy of the three Will signatures from Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare*. London and New York, 1898.

By this it appears that the first signature is worn out. It is in much worse condition than when Harris saw it. For a copy of this signature we have, therefore, to go to Malone. As Mr. Lee has photographed the lower line of the second sheet of the Will, it is seen how the hiatus in the surname of the second signature came to be. The loop was jumped, and there is no character between the *e* and the final *r*. This last letter is the German *r*, identical with the *r* shown in Malone's Fig. X, and also in the *r* copied from Woodberry, before given in Chap. I., 

This is the letter that ends the first and second Will signatures, and in all three of them the name is Shaksper—nothing else.

There is no discrepancy between the letters of the third signature in Malone and Lee, except that the flourish to the *r* ends in a fork in Lee (so in Harris), but not in Malone.

The three signatures to the Will were no doubt made almost simultaneously, say within a period of ten or fifteen minutes. The second and third *a* are least unlike, but they were made by different hands;

1012

one after one
May 10
to go for

282 Mr Wm Chapman

and they are both of different species from the German *a* of the first signature. There are three sorts of *k*, if the first letter so called be not an *x*, three of *s*, three of *p*, and the second *p* is unlike that letter in any known alphabet. (I might have shown the final letter of these three signatures which also discovers three different forms).

The third signature is preceded by the words *By me*, and these, and the *William*, are well written, and by a different hand from the one that wrote the surname following, and the one that wrote the second signature, and, again, from the hand that wrote the first.

Of the five signatures, no one is Shakspeare; the two on the deeds are Shakspar and Shaksper; the first on the Will is Shaksper, the second Shaksper, and, dismissing Malone's superfluous stroke, the third is Shaksper. Nowhere is there any Shakespeare, the name under which the plays were written.

Supposing for a moment that one hand could have written the five signatures, what does it prove? In the first—on the mortgage—he writes Wm. for William; in the next, made at the same time, he writes William at length, but on top of the surname. Again, in the first of the Will signatures, he writes William above the surname. The next time, he attempts to get the names in line, but misses it considerably, the given name—now spelled Willin—being raised to the level of the top of the surname, and, moreover, it is separated from the latter by a noticeably wide space. The third time he writes William, gets it at the proper distance from the surname, but

the latter has tumbled, and is almost wholly below the level of the given name. These little things show that the writer was not in the habit of signing his own name, or accustomed to the use of a pen. William Shaksper accumulated a large property by all sorts of trading, and, if he could handle a pen at all, must have been in the daily habit of signing his name to one piece of paper or other, bills, notes, receipts, money orders, contracts, deeds, etc. Is it to be believed that a man who, for fully twenty years, had been in active business, *if he could write*, never attained a fixed and recognizable signature; that he never wrote his name in a straight line; that in the same hour, and on the same document, he would sign his name William and Willin, and his surname in as many different styles of letters as he made signatures?

Thos. Greene, lawyer, for years resided (H.-P.) under some unknown conditions at New Place. He and other clerks did what signing of Shaksper's name was necessary in the line of his business. The writer Shakespeare, who penned thousands of verses, would have run them in straight lines, and would not have signed his given name above, or out of line with his surname. He would have written and signed his name as became a gentleman and a scholar, and not like a Hodge, fresh from the plough. So the man Shaksper, as a business man, and he certainly was that—would have written as became a business man, in one uniform style, if he knew how to write at all.

His signature at the end of his life would have been as in his middle age, or in his youth. It is so with

every man, and is a matter of course. Men do not put on a new handwriting once a week, as a caterpillar puts on a new skin, much less change it three times in one day. In "Proof that Shaksper could not write", by W. H. Burr, Washington, 1886, the author is of the opinion that William Shaksper "was unable to spell or write his name, and that he simply traced a copy set him at different times by different persons." But in that case, the three signatures of the Will, made one after the other, should have been essentially alike, following the same copy. Every school boy follows copy, and could not write the lines unlike. I believe that the scrivener and a bystander wrote the two deed and mortgage signatures. Very likely the vendee and mortgagor was not present at the execution of these instruments. When it came to signing the three sheets of the Will; this is about what happened; the scrivener's apprentice, or servant, began the signing for the testator, and in a bold hand wrote "William Shaksper". Drake said, in 1817, "It has been supposed that, according to the practice in Shakspeare's time the name in the first sheet was written by the scrivener who drew the Will." This accounts for the peculiar *a*, the German *a*, which both Drake and Skottowe read as *ac*; (Shack) the German *p*, the German *r*, and the peculiar *k*.

In the age of which we are treating, very great latitude was allowed in executing legal papers. Cruise, Digest of the Law of Real Property, Title XXXII, Chap. II, s. 63, says: "Sealing alone was sufficient to authenticate a deed till the reign of King Charles

II." He goes on to say that it was of no consequence who sealed the deed, or what it was sealed with—even a stick: "If I take it up after it is sealed, and deliver it as my deed, it is an agreement to the sealing, and so a good deed". Phillipps implies, as we have seen, that a mortgage could be executed in the absence of the mortgagor. There was no reason at all why William Shaksper should have been present at the execution of either mortgage or deed if he did not care to be. His signature was not essential, and anybody could affix the seals, as it seems the scrivener's clerk, Henry Lawrence, did. We have seen that John Shaksper appears as a witness to a Deed, also to a Lease and Bond, his name written in full in each case, though it is stated positively that he was never able to write, and that his sign-manual was a two-pronged mark. We are told by Halliwell-Phillipps, II, 392, that "in those days there was so much laxity in everything connected with testamentary formalities that inconvenience would seldom have arisen from any kind of carelessness. No one, except in subsequent litigation, would ever have dreamt of asking if erasures preceded signatures, how, or when interlineations were added, if the witnesses were present at the execution, or, in fact, any questions at all. The officials thought nothing of admitting to probate a mere copy of a Will that was destitute of the signatures both of testator and witnesses."

Also Drake assures us that on signing a Will, the first sheet was usually subscribed in the name of the testator by the scrivener who wrote the Will. We may understand, therefore, that it made no difference to

anybody concerned whether the testator put his hand to the Will or not.

The given name of the second signature begins with a German capital *W*, and is written in a firm, strong hand, very different from the tremulous hand which traced the letters *Shaksp* of the surname. I think the hand that wrote the Willin, wrote the final letter of the surname. Willin was then a familiar form of William, just as Bill or Billy is now. A man signing his Will would not make one of the three signatures a nickname. One of the neighbors certainly wrote the Willin, and probably the hand of the testator was guided into *Shaksp*, and then stopped, the friend adding the *er*. If the whole name had been written by the same man, the surname would have been written in a strong hand, and would not have been at an unreasonable distance from the other, and below it.

Finally, some one who wrote a comparatively neat hand wrote the "By me William" of the third signature, and then helped the testator's fingers to develop the Shaksper, making a break after the *p*—in fact, the pen escaped control, as appears by the long tail to the



unformed *e*. When recovered, it made the "superfluous stroke" spoken of by Malone to start the pen and added *er*. This final *er* is of the same sort that ends John Shaksper's name in the cut here given, reproduced from p. 12. The marks in the third signature between the *p* and the *er* mean nothing.

Skottowe said, in 1826: "In regard to the signatures of the Will, a sort of doubt has been cast on the first and second by the suggestion that they might be the handwriting of the notary employed on the occasion." Which, together with what I have quoted from Drake, shows that generations ago the editors and commentators were puzzled by the remarkable discrepancies in these signatures.

Drake says: "The autographs present us with five signatures, which, singular as it may appear, all vary, either in the mode of writing or mode of spelling. The first appears *Wm. Shakspea*, the second *William Shaksper*. The three Will signatures, it is remarkable, differ considerably, especially in the surnames, for in the first we have Shackspere; in the second Shakespere; in the third Shakspeare." Drake mistook the German *a* of the first Will signature for *a c*.

My own opinion is that William Shaksper never learned to write, and that he at no time signed his name. In his walk of life, the art of writing was rarely attained. His ancestors, in all their generations, got along without writing, as well as without reading. The Shaksperc, with the rest of the nation at that time, were "yet struggling to escape from barbarity" as Dr. Johnson asserts, and during this same period, "to be able to read and write (outside of professed scholars, or men and women of high rank) was an accomplishment still valued for its rarity." As we have seen, Mr. Phillipps tells us that learning to read, in Stratford, was a difficult matter, for the reason that there were few persons in that village capable of teaching a boy his letters. Had William as a boy learned

to write, as a man he would have employed but one alphabet, and not as many alphabets as he made signatures. Any business man will witness that a correspondent of his who sends a different signature with every communication, is not doing his own writing, but Tom, Dick, and Harry are doing it for him. So it was with this Shaksper.

Now, a curious thing has happened: the nom-de-plume of the author of the plays was William Shakespeare, and no other, and he often hyphenated it Shakespeare, as if to emphasize the fact that Shak was no part of his title. The name of the player was Shaksper and no other. But under an agreement entered into between the New Shakspere Society and the affiliated Societies in England and America, the names Shakspar and Shaksper are ignored, while the name Shakespeare is banished from literature and history; and recent books talk of the poet Shakspere.* The effects, assets, and the name of the great Shakespeare have been seized feloniously, and made over to the strolling vagabond Shaksper, rechristened Shakspere—a man unable to write his own name! There is no more a Shakespeare—the stroller has possession of both name and plunder.

“Who steals my purse steals trash. . . .

But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him
But makes me poor indeed.”

I think the great “Shakespeare” must have had a

*I am glad to see that Mr. Lee’s book is an exception.

prescience of the New Shakspere Society of freebooters, when he wrote that line.

"These five signatures are the sum total of the life labors of William Shaksper which have come down to us. In these rude illiterate scrawls we stand face to face with the Stratford man. What an abyss separates them from the god-like plays!" Donnelly, 76.

We have seen what William Shaksper's neighbors called him, and it would be desirable to know what he called himself, as his wealth increased. Apparently he was disposed to be known as Shakespeare about the time he became a land owner, and made the purchase of New Place, or in 1597, though just before that, in the application for coat-armour of 1596, the father's name is spelled Shakespeare. That is the first that is known of Shakespeare in the family. In the fac-simile of "The exemplification of the Fine that was levied when he purchased New Place," H.-P., II. 106, the name is spelled Shakespeare several times. In the second application for coat-armour, 1609, John's name is always spelled Shakespere. In the Stratford suits William is called Shexpere, in 1604; and both Shakespere and Shackspere in 1608. In 1606, in the conveyance of a moiety of a lease, he is Shakspear. In 1612, in a Bill of Complaint, he is Shackspear; in the body of the Walker Deed and the mortgage of 1612-13, he is called Shakespeare; in 1614, in the Articles of Agreement with Replingham, he is Shackspere. Although "Shakespeare" is in the body of the Walker Deed and Mortgage, when some of his neighbors signed these instruments for him, they got the name Shaksper and Shakspar; and when his friends gathered

about him to help execute his last Will, they signed the name three times Shaksper. Finally, the Clerk of Stratford Church entered his name, at his burial, William Shakspeare, as Phillipps gives it, but probably the name on the record really ends with a German *r* and is therefore Shaksper. At all events to this clerk he died Shak.

The ex-player seems to have sought, when he began to feel his oats, to slough off John Peter, but was not persistent in his effort. The old habits, however, were too strong for his neighbors, and to them he was born a Shaksper, lived a Shaksper, and died a Shaksper.

Among the many forgeries relating to player Shaksper is a signature in an old copy of Montaigne. Bernard Quaritch, in his *Rough List* No. 160, 1896, advertises thus a copy of the first edition of Montaigne:—"This is a literary monument of high value, and the only book of which we can say with certainty that it formed a part of Shakespeare's library. His copy, with his autograph, is in the British Museum. That he studied and made use of it, we have sufficient testimony," etc., etc.

In Harper's Magazine, October, 1894, is a story by Thomas Nelson Page, in which we are told: "When I read Montaigne, I feel as if I was reading myself. It is a pleasure to me to know that here is the one book which we know absolutely Shakspeare read, and in which he wrote his name." This statement has been seen by half a million persons.

In Baynes, we should naturally look to see this story, and on page 94, Shakespeare Studies, he says: "The only known volume that certainly belonged to Shak-

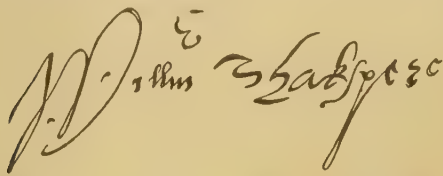
sperre and contains his autograph is Florio's version of Montaigne's Essays, in the British Museum." And up he goes, telling us who that Florio was, and that "both he and the player were intimate friends of the Earl of Southampton; and that it is evident from the plays that William Shaksperre was intimately acquainted with Italian; that he must have made Florio's acquaintance soon after he came to London, and probably owes to him his knowledge of French as well as Italian"; that W. S., "on reaching London, and beginning to breathe a literary atmosphere" (in the sweet air of the theater Taine tells us of), "would naturally betake himself to the study of Italian," and so on, *ad astra*.

Of this signature, Richard Grant White says: "The signature appears upon the title-page of a copy of the first edition of Montaigne's Essays, published in 1603. Nothing is known of the whereabouts of the volume previous to the year 1778, a time when the interest in Shaksperre was so great, and the investigations of his personal history so recent and so imperfect that it was both tempting and propitious to the fabrication. . . . Its claims to authenticity have no support but mere opinion, based upon its style and general appearance, and its resemblance to originals of undoubted genuineness, a position which it occupies with the Felton Portrait." Vol. I, cxxvii. The Felton Portrait is conceded on all sides not to have been authentic.

Again, in *England Without and Within*, page 528, Mr. White says of this signature: "Others whose judgment is worth mine ten times over, think, as I do,

that it is a forgery." Dowden, 39, says of this signature: "Its genuineness has been disputed."

Knight, in his *Life of W. S.*, gives a fac-simile of this signature, and I have had a photographic copy of it made, and give it herewith:



It needs but a glance to show the difference between it and the five Deed and Will signatures. The hand that wrote this name could never have brought itself to write the two Deed signatures, or the second Will signature, or the surname of the third Will signature. Skill in the art of writing once attained cannot be lost. It was the hand of an expert penman, no writing master more so. Note the beautiful *illin*, as perfect as copper-plate; and the easy grace with which each letter of the surname is dashed off. The *k* is a work of art, and so is the *p*, and the *ere* are perfect, as well as separated. The forger took his *W* from the fifth signature, but got a very imperfect likeness of it; the *illin* from the fourth. The large *S* is unlike any of the five, of a different species altogether; the *h k e r e* unlike any of the five; the *p* something like the letter in the second and fifth, differing as the work of an expert would differ from a man unaccustomed to write. It is so palpable a forgery that the wonder is how any one gave the least heed to it.

The Ireland forgeries, perpetrated near the close of the 18th century, embraced not only plays, as *Vortigern* and *Rowena*, *William the Conqueror*, and *Henry II*, but deeds purporting to have been made by William Shakespeare (Shakspcr), the forger "imitating the poet's signature from a fac-simile of a genuine deed of 1612. Renewed success encouraged him to a perfect hailstorm of Shakespeare relics. Verses and letters of the poet inscribed on fly-leaves, *old printed books with Shakespeare's name on the title-page*, and notes and verses in the same hand-writing on the margin, followed in bewildering succession." *Pall Mall Gazette*, May, 1896. As the signature in the *Montaigne* first came to light in 1778, Ireland was not the forger. It was by a few years too early for him; but his forgeries were merely a sample of what had been done for years in this line. All the last half of that century—or after the Shakespeare Jubilee, 1769—Shakespeare forgery was in the air. I find a curious item in *Ingleby* bearing on this point. He intimates, p. 410. that Oldys amused himself in composing verses as written by Shakespeare, and says: "Can it be possible that these two verses were dished up by George Steevens (1778), and assigned by him to Jonson and Shakespeare, as a hoax on his too credulous public?"

CHAPTER XVI.

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE IGNORANCE OF CONTEMPORARIES RESPECTING WILLIAM SHAKSPER.

And so this man, the reputed author of some of the greatest works of intellect the world has produced, profoundly learned in all branches of knowledge, as the works themselves give evidence, disappeared, and no one spoke of it, or missed him. He passed away like a cloud, and it was unknown or forgotten what manner of man he was. There is no mention of his retirement from London to Stratford in prose or verse by any writer of the time; and no one of the references in Ingleby or Furnivall alludes to William Shaksper's death. Is it credible that a great poet could thus die, and no other poet lament him? Spenser wrote a dozen elegies and epitaphs on the death of his beloved Astrophel; Milton bewails his friend in the magnificent monody of Lycidas; but no one lifted up his voice on the departure of William Shaksper.

This man's admirers claim that Jonson was his friend, and that Drayton was his friend, and appeal to the traditions that Shaksper's death was caused by a "merrie meeting" of the three. If two such poets were his friends, assuredly there must have been others of the guild who felt kindly to him, and knew him intimately; yet no poet, or even prose writer, uttered a lament for William Shaksper. Jonson was a great composer of elegies, epigrams, epitaphs, and sonnets,

and a vast collection of them form part of his published works. Apparently he wrote verses on or about every man or woman he knew. But when William Shaksper died, and indeed during the man's life, Jonson was significantly silent.

Where were ye, Pō'ts, when the remorseless deep
Closed o'er the head of your loved Shackysper?

Plainly, this man was known as a player and theater-proprietor, and the writers of the day never thought of attributing the plays and poems which had been published in the name of "William Shakespeare" to him.

"Not a single fact bearing on his literary character has come down to us. Emerson says he examined with great care the entire correspondence of Sir Henry Wotton, in which almost every one of note in that day was mentioned, and Shakespeare's name is conspicuously absent. Halliwell-Phillipps says that in a long series of letters from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, scattered over the whole period from 1598 to 1623, letters full of the news of the month, of the court, the city, the pulpit, the booksellers shops, in which court masques are described in minute detail, authors, actors, plot, performance, reception and all, we look in vain for the name of Shakespeare or any of his plays." V. R., in Boston Transcript, 6th November, 1897.

"Of his eminent countrymen, Raleigh, Sidney, Spenser, Bacon, Cecil, Walsingham, Coke, Camden, Hooker, Drake, Hobbes, Inigo Jones, Herbert of Cherbury, Laud, Pym, Hampden, Wotton and Donne, may be properly reckoned as his contemporaries, and yet there

is no proof whatever that he was personally known to either of these men, or to any of less note among the statesmen, scholars, and artists of his day, except the few of his fellow-craftsmen, whose acquaintance with him has been heretofore mentioned." R. G. White, 185. "Since the constellation of great men who appeared in Greece in the time of Pericles, there never was any such society, yet their genius failed them to find out the best head in the universe." Emerson, *Rep. Men.*

"As to Beaumont, Fletcher, Webster, etc., who after 1610 wrote for the King's men, and the numerous contemporaries who wrote for other companies, no trace of any intercourse with Shakespeare, personal or otherwise, remains to us, though abundant guesses and hypotheses utterly foundationless will be found in the voluminous Shakespeare literature already existing." Fleay, *Life*, 81.

"Allusions to his works . . . will be found collected in Dr. Ingleby's *Centurie of Prayse*; but they consist almost entirely of slight references to his published works, and have no bearing or importance on his career. . . . Neither as addressed to him by others, nor to others by him, do any commendatory verses exist in connection with any of his or other men's works published in his lifetime—a notable fact, in whatever way it may be explained. Nor can he be traced beyond a very limited circle, although the fanciful might-have-beens so largely indulged in by his biographers might at first lead us to an opposite conclusion." *Id.* 73.

"From early manhood to maturity, he lived and la-

boured and throve, in the chief city of a prosperous and peaceful country" (a city of 160,000 population, which is that of Denver, in 1900), "at a period of high intellectual and moral development. His life was passed before the public in the days when the pen recorded scandal in the diary, and when the press, though the daily newspaper did not exist, teemed with personality. Yet hardly a word that he spoke has reached us, and not a familiar line from his hand, or the record of one interview at which he was present." R. G. White, *Life*, 4. Whatever word has reached us has to do with business affairs, not literature.

"There are few periods, at which intellectual activity was as great as it is now, with its written records surviving, in which the passions, the opinions, the ambitions of the age are all before us." . . . Such a period was that which embraced the years of William Shaksper's life in London, and yet there is not one word of him or from him or about him, in the written records of that time. It is as if the man had never lived.

There has been no scrap of writing from or to him (except one letter, before spoken of, asking him for a loan of money), no record of any dinner or festival at which he met any of his associates. No report of a word spoken by him on any occasion or any subject, except the two conversations held with the town clerk of Stratford on the enclosure of the common land, which I have given in Chapter VIII. "The letters which have come down to us from that period would fill a large library, but in no one of them is there any reference to the actor Shakspeare. In the greatest age

of English literature, the greatest man of his species lived in London for nearly thirty years, and no one takes any notice of his presence. The proposition is incredible that a man should be able to produce the greatest, profoundest, broadest of composition—works overflowing with evidence of vast industry and universal scholarship—and yet leave behind him, apart from the writings in controversy, not a thought, a word, a scrap of writing, a letter, a fragment of the manuscript of a play, or anything else, except three signatures to his Will, and two to legal conveyances." Donnelly.

Yet, Mrs. Dall tells us, p. 182: "It is certain that he was idolized by the people, sought by the nobility, petted by the court, and admired by both Elizabeth and James. . . . Pembroke, Rutland, and Montgomery, as well as Southampton, were his friends. . . . Shakspeare shows in his plays that he sprang from the people; he cared for the people, their liberties, their rights, and their interests. Perhaps he had at first some desire to take a practical part in politics, but the death of Essex" (assumed to be a friend of W. S. also) "made this impossible, and never after Essex died, could a man of his upright dealing and tender heart have clasped hands with Lord Bacon. . . . After this" (desertion of Essex by Bacon) "any intimacy with Shakspeare would have been impossible".

This is an astounding string of unwarranted assertions. There is not the least authentic evidence that he was known otherwise than as a player or proprietor of a theater to any person of distinction whatever; and Grant White expressly assures of that fact.

Nor is there the least evidence that any man of distinction ever spoke to him. The idea of player Shaksper having some desire to take a practical part in politics, and being deterred by the death of that arch traitor, Essex, is rich. Also, p. 161: "Many things united to destroy the respect of such a man as Shakspere for the Queen". Elizabeth, whose life made the England of to-day possible—the object of veneration to every right thinking Englishman or Anglo-American; that Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, as Oliver Cromwell styled her, and "that great Queen". And this Shaksper, whom Mrs. Dall so belauds, is he of the Droeshout likeness!

[Per contra, R. G. White says, in the *Genius of Shakespeare*: "It has been objected to the assertion of the amplitude of Shakespeare's mind, and to the generosity of his character, that he always represents the laborer and the artisan in a degraded position, and often makes his ignorance and uncouthness the butt of ridicule." There is not a line in the plays which indicates that their author sprang from the people or cared for the people, their rights or their interests. As Morgan says: "The author of the plays was a constitutional aristocrat, who believed in the established order of things, and wasted not one word of eulogy upon any human right in his day not absolutely guaranteed by charters or by thrones." "Coriolanus seems to have been written to create a wall and barrier of public opinion against the movement toward popular government which not long after his death plunged England into a long and bloody civil war. The whole

argument of the play is the unfitness of a mob to govern a state." Donnelly.

Swinburne says: "With him the people risen in revolt, for any just or unjust cause, is always the mob, the unwashed rabble, the swinish multitude." *Study of Shakespeare*, 54.

"Nor have we found in going through these fourteen comedies, one generous aspiration in favor of popular liberty; nor one expression of sympathy with the sufferings of the poor; nay, hardly one worthy sentiment accorded to a character in humble life." *Wilkes*, 171.]

"There is not even a line or word to show the connection of William Shaksper with any printer or publisher. No entry of any description shows him as either paying or receiving any sum of money on account of works printed". *Mrs. Potts*, 54.

It is now many years since the *Diary of Manager Henslowe* (1592-1603) was found. Fleay, *Hist.*, copies a large part of it, and says: "The extreme importance of this well-known work . . . will, I think, justify the space allotted to this abstract of all that is of general utility in the old pawn-broking, stage-managing, bear-baiting usurer's MSS"; and he devotes twenty pages to it. The name of nearly every play-wright of the period occurs, most often repeatedly, in these leaves, with the sums of money paid them for plays or altering plays. We have Jonson, Haughton, Monday, Drayton, Dekker, Chettle, Wilson, Hathaway, Chapman, Porter, Day, Rankins, Marston, Boyle, Wadeson, Smith, Rowley, Middleton, Bird, Heywood, Webster. But there is

no mention of Shaksper, or Shakespeare, under any spelling. To this day it remains a matter for wonder why Henslowe never mentioned Shaksper, the greatest play-wright of that age, if he wrote the Shakespeare plays, while he spoke of all other men who wrote plays. Phillipps says that, up to 1594, "all his (Shakespeare's) dramas were written for Henslowe." He attributes the selection of such a subject as *Titus Andronicus* for a play to Henslowe, influenced by the current taste of the public for the horrible. Other commentators, influenced perhaps by the absence of mention of Shakespeare in the *Diary*, doubt or deny that there was any connection between the parties.

"We are asked to believe that the greatest man that ever walked this planet—profound, immense in all his attributes—lived in this town of London, and in the village of Stratford, until he was 52 years of age, and yet not a man comes forward and says:—'Here is a letter from William Shakespere! Here is where he wrote *Spenser* and discussed poetry! Here is where he wrote *Bacon* and discussed philosophy! Here is an account of a public meeting in which he took part!' What was he doing? Can you put such a light as that under a bushel? No! Its effulgence would fill the world, and the activities, the mental power, of such a man would have expanded and radiated in a thousand directions." Donnelly.

In after years, and during that century, antiquarians searched Stratford and the neighborhood for memories of the man. All that they could find I have related; that he was a wild youth, a butcher's apprentice, got into trouble with the Lucys, and fled to London; be-

came a player, and that of no note whatever; rose to be part-proprietor of the theater, returned to Stratford a rich man; and died of a fever, the consequence of a drunken spree. That was all. There was abundant information as to his money transactions, but not a shred as to any literary work, or as to his authorship of poems and plays. Dowden says that "the facts which we possess are enough to assure us that the greatest of poets conducted his material life wisely and to a prosperous issue. They are enough to prove his good sense and discreet dealings in worldly affairs." Plenty of proof indeed as to material prosperity, but none to connect him with the Shakespeare plays.

"What we do learn, and that from his biographer and admirer, Halliwell-Phillips, is that he was a money-lender, who would have his pound of flesh at all hazards, and a keen man of business, who kept the main chance always before him." T. W. White, 190.

Malone expressed his astonishment that "almost a century should have elapsed from the death of William Shakspeare without a single attempt having been made to discover any circumstance which should throw a light on the history of his life or literary career."

Ex nihilo nihil fit is a very old proverb; the fact was there was nothing respecting the literary career of player Shaksper to be discovered. His great achievement had been making money, and there was no limit to the gossip and tradition as to that. But when it came to literary work, nothing was found because there was nothing to find. "The earliest recorded traditions at present known are those imbedded in a closely written memorandum book compiled in the

year 1662, by Rev. John A. Ward, M.A., of Oxford, and Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon.* . . . There can be no doubt that he has accurately repeated the prevalent local gossip in the few entries respecting the great dramatist." H.-P., Preface, X. At the time of Mr. Ward's writing, some of the then residents of Stratford must have known the player personally. Probably some were living who remembered the boy, and certainly there were many who knew the man after he came back to Stratford to spend the remainder of his days there. Mr. Ward recorded that he had "heard that Mr. Shaksper was a natural wit without any art at all". That is, without learning or cultivation, uneducated—a natural genius and nothing more, and this suits William Shaksper exactly. "That he frequented the plays in all his younger time, but in his older days lived at Stratford, and supplied the stage

*[From New York Tribune, (semi-weekly) 11th Nov., 1898. —(From the London Telegraph).] "The work of the 126th session of the Medical Society of London was begun, at the rooms of the Society, in Chandos St., by a short introductory address from the president, Edmund Owen, Surgeon to St. Mary's Hospital, who remarked that among the many treasures of their library were fifteen volumes of manuscript, which formed the diary or common-place book of the Rev. John Ward, M.A., Oxon, who was Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon from 1662 to 1681. . . . He had worked diligently to acquire a knowledge of the medical profession, etc. . . . On taking up his work at Stratford-on-Avon, in the forty-sixth year after Shaksper's death, Ward must, both as Vicar and Doctor, have been told of many facts concerning the bard by those who had been intimately acquainted with him. Unfortunately, he did not record much about him in these memorandum-books; what he did say," etc. (is what I have quoted from H.-P. above).

with two plays every year. . . .” He tells the story of Shaksper’s “merrie meeting, and it seems drank too hard”, for he “died of a fever there contracted”. Very little surely to have been gleaned by a clergyman in the dead man’s own parish, if there had been anything to glean. It is noticeable that Mr. Ward’s entry was made in 1662, the year he came to Stratford. He lived there eighteen years after 1662, but never found more of Shaksper worth recording. As to Shaksper’s supplying the stage with two plays every year, we have seen that Mr. Phillipps asserts that all the facts point to the conclusion that William Shaksper engaged in no literary work after he retired from the stage, which was in 1610-11. Nevertheless Green, in his *History of England*, tells this story of two plays per year as if it were a fact which he had verified.

In 1693, the Rev. Mr. Dowdall questioned the clerk of the parish (of whom I have before spoken), a man over eighty years of age, born before the death of the player. Of course this clerk, a man of intelligence and respectability, had known and grown up with men and women by hundreds who had personally known the player, and who knew and could recite all the current gossip about him; and there would be a great store of this, for the rich man who went to London a penniless fugitive was the Lord Mayor Whittington over again. But all he could tell Mr. Dowdall was, that “this Shakspeare was formerly of this town, bound apprentice to a butcher. But he ran away from his master to London, and was there received into the play house as a servitour, and by this means had an

opportunity to be what he afterwards proved." Here was a clergyman anxiously questioning the parish clerk of Stratford, as to the knowledge and traditions respecting William Shaksper, formerly of that parish, reputed to have written certain wonderful poems and plays, and not one item does he extract as to literary labors, or traditions of authorship. Simply that the runaway boy came back a rich man! Nothing more impresses the illiterate than the reputation of authorship. To have written a book sets all agape. But neither clerk nor neighbors had ever heard of his writing plays.

Not one of the player's family, it appears, had anything to say of poems or plays. His son-in-law, John Hall, was a Master of Arts, and an eminent physician. "His advice was solicited in every direction, and he was summoned more than once to attend the Earl and Countess of Northampton, at Ludlow Castle, a distance of over forty miles, no trifling journey over the bridle paths of those days; and even in such times of fierce religious animosities the desire to secure his advice outweighed them all," etc. (H.-P., II, 274.)

Dr. Hall left a manuscript entitled "Select observations on English bodies", and the only line relating to William Shaksper is this: "My father-in-law, W. Shakspeare died last Thursday." Of this the Boston Transcript, 13th Oct. 1897, said:—"Dr. Hall feelingly put down the treatment of Goodman Brown, and Gossip Wickerley, and the elderly Lady Butler, the herbs and simples used, etc, and on one line, as if an after-thought, he adds," the words given above.

Dr. Nathan Drake, himself a physician, says, Pt.

III, Ch. 2: "That not the smallest account of the disease which terminated so valuable a life, should have been transmitted to posterity is . . . singular; and the more so, as our poet was, no doubt, attended by his son-in-law, Dr. Hall, who should have recollected that the circumstances which led to the dissolution of such a man had a claim to preservation and publicity. Hall, who left for publication a manuscript collection of cases, selected from not less than a thousand diseases, has omitted the only one which could have secured to his work any permanent interest of value." The fact no doubt was that Dr. Hall was ashamed of the tippling old showman whom the fates had assigned to him for a father-in-law. He would have been a happier man, could he have taken Susanna without the incumbrance. It is inconceivable, had Shaksper been known to the learned and eminent physician as the author of meritorious poems and plays—as anything beyond a mere theater man—that among his many memoranda, there should not be the slightest allusion to his so near relative. He evidently did not consider Shaksper's life so valuable as Dr. Drake held it to have been. Little could Dr. Hall have foreseen that in the 19th century, this old man would be held up as a model of all that is good and great; that there should come to be a Shaksper cult, with its millions of followers, and with balloon-topped antiquarians like Phillipps and Furnivall, for hierophants.

Shaksper's daughters knew no more than the neighbors. They had not a manuscript or a letter from him, or a scrap of paper on which he had written,

nor had they a book containing a Shakespeare play. These daughters lived nearly forty years after their father's death—his grand-daughter, Lady Barnard, till 1670,—and there is not the slightest evidence that they ever claimed literary distinction for William Shaksper. Lady Barnard may be assumed to have been intelligent as well as educated, and she would have been proud of her ancestor, if he was really the great poet Shakespeare.

Now, is it probable, is it possible, that the greatest intellect, and one of the most prolific writers of that age, lived and died in that way; leaving at the time of his death, in his own house at Stratford, nothing to connect him with any literary work, any authorship of books or plays; his own children ignorant of the existence of either books or plays, they as well as the neighbors, knowing him simply as a player who had run a theater and made money? There is but one explanation of the matter, and that is that the man Shaksper, if he claimed to have written the Shakespeare plays, was an impostor. He had no more to do with their composition than had Burbage or Heminge, his fellows. He was proprietor of a theater, and like the late Barnum, he made it pay. He gave his mind, and all of it, to it. It could not have been otherwise. Shaksper must have done as all managers do, worked early and late at his profession! All the extra time he had was devoted to increasing his heap of money. Certainly this was so, for from mean beginnings, by small accretions, and by lending money and fortunate speculations, he became a very rich man. Not one moment had he for writ-

ing plays, and every presumption is against his having the inclination, any more than the ability, to write plays; certainly not the Shakespeare plays. Acting and managing was one trade, writing of plays another.

And yet, we are asked to believe that this busy, and thriving and far-traveling man, also undertook, and for twenty years carried on the trade of, writing the plays acted at his theater, and very many plays never acted there or elsewhere—thrown off in mere sport, because he had not enough to do, we may say; wonderful plays, the like of which, for solid learning, book-lore, philosophy—only to be got by years of continual brain work—the world has not seen. And more than that, after many of these plays had been written and published, this busy man re-wrote them, altered, enlarged and polished them, “with an eye to their literary perfection”, Swinburne says. Our admirable Barnum, who belonged to the same genus as William Shaksper, could ride one horse, possibly two, but he hardly could have ridden half a dozen without coming to grief. No more could manager Shaksper, we may be sure. Nevertheless, there are people so constructed that anything superhuman, miraculous, seizes upon their imagination and enforces their belief at once. They say with Tertullian: “It is incredible and therefore I believe it.” Professor Francis W. Newman, *Echo*, Dec. 31st, 1887, says: “Are the devotees of Shaksper resolved to make him a miracle”? That is exactly what they do.

The writer of a paper on Shaksper in the *Review of Reviews*, July, 1894, says: “Any suggestion that

Shaksper was fallible seems to many of us akin to blasphemy."

"Nobody believes that immediate inspiration is possible in modern times—and yet everybody seems to take it for granted of this one man Shaksper," Lowell. Surely, because everybody realizes that on the theory of immediate inspiration only, can this Stratford man be brought into line with the Shakespeare plays. We have seen that Halliwell-Phillipps intimates his belief that they were written "by inspiration, not by design".

Very few intelligent men and women know the facts in this case, and many who do know, refuse to consider them. It titillates the individual and the national vanity that the superhuman, semi-divine being, the accepted Shakespeare, *as constructed from the plays*, the like of whom never was on sea or land, should have been providentially permitted to the English race. It seems a sacrilege to pull down one's idol. For myself, I am of the opinion that when the author or authors of these works are discovered, they will be found, not divine, but very human, with varied experiences, with parentage, and education, and capacity, and training, to make such works possible.

"The only real argument in favor of Shaksper is founded on what may be called the universality of belief in Great Britain and America; as if universality of belief will consecrate a lie. The world believes that William Shaksper wrote the plays and poems, and it is fashionable and customary so to believe. Commentators and essayists by the hundreds have kept the gilded idol in a state of preservation for nearly

three centuries by ingenious suppositions, possibilities and probabilities;* and when doubters grumbled on account of the paucity of facts, bold forgeries like those of Ireland and Cunningham have been put upon the market to minister to a popular mind diseased." Judge Stotsenburg, Baconiana, n. s., p. 47.

*"Possibilities and probabilities". I find a pretty example in Dr. Furnesses Variorum edition of the *Tempest*: "*It is highly probable that Shakespeare derived his material from William Strachey, the Secretary to the Colony of Virginia. This Strachey printed a pamphlet in 1612 giving an account of 'the wracks and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates Knight upon and from the islands of the Bermudas.'* . . . In recent times a *closer possible connection* has been discovered between this Strachey and Shakespeare than was known to Malone. Prefaced to one of Strachey's pamphlets on the Colony of Virginia Britanica, dated London, 1612, in a sonnet addressed to the 'Council of Virginia', followed by a Preface which is signed 'From my lodging in the black Friars, Wm. Strachey.'" *To these facts we can apply the universal solvent which subdues everything connected with Shakespeare's biography, and say that it is not improbable that Shakespeare and Strachey were intimate friends and it is not improbable that of all men it was Strachey whom, full of adventure, of shipwrecks, of tempests, of travellers' stories, Shakespeare "got quietly in the corner and milked."*

CHAPTER XVII.

ABSENCE OF ALLUSIONS TO STRATFORD-ON-AVON
IN THE SHAKESPEARE PLAYS: THE AUTHOR OR
AUTHORS STRANGELY UNOBSERVANT OF NATURE.

Dr. Wallace, in the "Arena", thus discourses: "In the midst of the calm and beautiful scenery of Warwickshire, he acquired that extensive knowledge and love of nature . . . which is manifest throughout his works," etc.

William Winter says: "The minute knowledge that Shakespeare has of plants and flowers, and the loving appreciation with which he describes pastoral scenery, are explained to the rambler in Stratford by all he sees and hears." And again: "The man who wrote the Shakespeare plays knew Warwickshire as it could only be known to a native of it." I have before quoted Halliwell-Phillipps on the flower mentions, "that they do not prove that he was ever a botanist or a gardener. Neither are his numerous allusions to wild flowers and plants, not one of which appears to be peculiar to Warwickshire, evidences." Which would seem to settle that matter. But it is a fact that the works of William Shakespeare, supposed to have been written by one William Shaksper, born in the village of Stratford, on the river Avon, Warwickshire, are not only remarkable for the very opposite of an "extensive knowledge of nature", obtained in the midst of that "calm and beautiful scenery", but for

the absence of mentions of or allusions to Stratford, or the Avon, or the county of Warwick, to whose beauties he is supposed to have owed his inspiration.

In all the poems and plays attributed to "Shakespeare", there is not a mention of Stratford, or of the Avon. Of the county of Warwick there are just three mentions:—"What a devil dost thou in Warwickshire?" 1 Henry IV, v, 2. In 2 Henry VI, 111, 2, Suffolk, addressing Warwick, says: "Proud lord of Warwickshire"; and in 3 Henry VI, iv, 8, Earl Warwick says: "In Warwickshire I have true-hearted friends." The action of the three Henry VI plays and of Richard III takes place largely in Warwickshire, and Earl Warwick is one of the prominent characters, mentioned by name a hundred times, yet these three mentions of the county are all that are to be found in the thirty-six plays, and not one of them implies a personal knowledge of the county.

Nor are other localities named. It is possible that Wincot, in the Introduction to Marlowe's *Taming of the Shrew*, may have been meant for Wilmecote, a village three miles from Stratford-on-Avon, but there is nothing by which to identify it, and what Wincot was, no man can now tell.

"There is a Woncot mentioned in 2 Henry VI, 'William Visor of Woncot', and so eager have the Shakspeareans been to sustain the Warwickshire origin of the plays, that they have converted this into Wincot. As, however, Master Robert Shallow Esquire dwelt in Gloucestershire, ('I'll through Gloucestershire, and there will I visit Robert Shallow Esquire'), and William Visor was one of his tenants or under-

lings, this Wincot could not have been Wincot." Donnelly.

The town of Coventry is mentioned nine times, but nowhere is there discovered a personal acquaintance with it: "Towards Coventry we bend our course"; "I'll not march through Coventry"; "March amain towards Coventry"; and so on. The name Coventry carries no more meaning than does Xanadu in the line of Coleridge. Any other name would have done as well.

The forest of Arden is spoken of three times in *As You Like It*; "This is the forest of Arden"; "In the forest of Arden"; "My uncle in the forest of Arden"; but it is not an English forest. It is a piece of the land of Nowhere, a wilderness furnished with lions and green pythons; where the ruler is a Duke and the courtiers are Frenchmen. This forest has no more locality or reality than the Wonderland of Alice.

William Winter says that the man who wrote the Shakespeare plays knew Warwickshire as it could only have been known to a native of it. From what I have said above, it is clear that this man did not manifest in his plays any knowledge of Warwickshire at all.

Drake, Ch. III, after speaking of Wincot, discourses thus: "It may indeed excite some surprise that we have not more allusions of this nature to commemorate; that the scenery which occurred to him early in life, and especially at the period when the imagery drawn from nature must have been impressed on his mind in a manner peculiarly vivid and defined; when he was free from care, unshackled by a family,

and at liberty to roam where fancy led him, has not been delineated in some portion of his works, with such accuracy as immediately to designate its origin. For, if we consider the excursive powers of his imagination, and the desultory and unsettled habits which tradition has ascribed to him during his youthful residence at Stratford, we may assert, without fear of contradiction, and as an undoubted truth, that his rambles into the country, and for a poet's purpose, were both frequent and extensive, and that not a stream, or wood, or hamlet, within many miles of his native town, were unvisited by him at various times and under various circumstances. Yet, if we can seldom point out in his works any distinct reference to the actual scenery of Stratford and its neighborhood, we may observe that few of the remarkable events of his own time appear to have escaped his notice," etc. To illustrate this, Dr. Drake prattles about an earthquake which happened in 1580, alluded to, he thinks, by the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*. It is probable that the earthquake was not confined to Henley street.

Surely, it is strange, if the author of the *Plays* spent his first twenty-two years at Stratford-on-Avon, that no mention of that neighborhood is to be found in all his writings, not merely of the neighborhood, but of the objects that a boy and youth with eyes in his head must have seen, and with brains must have reflected on. I will quote on this matter the writer in the *London Quarterly Review* before cited. His name is not attached to the paper, but the presence of the latter in the *Quarterly* is a voucher for his accuracy and authority. He tells us that "Shakespeare was

curiously unobservant of animated nature. He seems to have seen very little. Our authority for this is his own works, which . . . are most disappointing to lovers of Nature by their extraordinary omissions. Stratford-on-Avon was enmeshed in streams, yet he has not got a single king-fisher. It is true he refers to that mythic old sea-bird of antiquity, the halcyon, but that is not a king-fisher. Nor in all his streams or pool is there an otter, a water-rat, a fish rising, a dragon-fly, a moor hen or a heron. His boyhood was passed among woods, and yet in all the woods in his plays there is neither wood-pecker nor wood-pigeon; we never see or hear a squirrel in the trees, nor a night-jar hawking over the bracken. How is it that in all his sunshine there is not a single bee humming about the flowers? That with all his evenings, there is not a single moth on the wing? Shakespeare makes use of no fewer than twenty species of British wild animals. Of these, the badger, the otter and the water-rat are once each employed by name merely as terms of abuse; the pole-cat and hedge hog are also terms of abuse, but are so far described, as to be called respectively 'stinking' and 'thorny'; the dormouse and ferret are each used once as adjectives for 'sleepy' and 'fierce'; the shrew gives its name to a play, but is never mentioned as an animal. . . . The only references to the weasel are blunders. . . . There is not even a single epithet in all his references to the fox that assures us that Shakespeare ever noticed one at large. . . . He gives a superb description of a boar-hunt in *Venus and Adonis*. Any one who chooses to do so could resolve this description into

its original elements, and refer them respectively to Spenser and Drayton, Du Bartas, Chester and others, who wrote of the mighty boar before Shakespeare, and all of whom borrowed from Ovid, Pliny and Virgil." Id., 334. "Another passage of which much has been made is the description in Henry V of a bee-hive and its inmates. . . . As poetry it is a most beautiful passage; as a description of a hive, it is utter nonsense, with an error of fact in every other line, and instinct throughout with a total misconception of the great bee-parable. Obviously, therefore, there could have been no personal observation. How then did the poet arrive at the beautiful conception? From the Euphues of Lyly. Was it original in Lyly? No; for any one who will turn to the fourth book of the Georgics will find there Virgil's matchless description of a bee-hive; and if Shakespeare had, in his own matchless language, directly paraphrased the Latin poet's beautiful version, his description would have gained greatly in accuracy, and lost but little in originality." Id. 348.

"His nightingale, again, is a beautiful poem, but its theme is 'Philomela', not a bird; and when he does speak of the bird, he shows that he went to contemporary error or antiquated fancy for his facts, not Nature. . . . Did Shakespeare ever listen to either lark or nightingale? . . . The man Shakespeare never speaks to us from the poet's lines to say that the bird nightingale delighted him". Id. 358. His vocabulary of dog abuse is positively terrific. It is a most surprising fact that Shakespeare should never have a loving word to throw at a dog. If he

was ungenerous to a dog, he must be called something worse to cats. . . . It is surely astonishing that he should so persistently revile the little animal. . . . Critics cannot say of Shakspeare that he was a lover of animals." . . . "To the living objects about him he seems to have been obstinately and deliberately purblind and half deaf."

"As real trees that he knows of, he actually uses in his forests only the oak, pine and (very doubtfully) the sycamore. There are no elms or beech-trees, no birch, chestnut, walnut, poplar, alder, plane, fir, larch, lime or horn-beam. Is this not extraordinary? . . . He has no butterflies in his sunshine, no moths in his twilight, no crickets in his meadows, no bees in his flowers. . . . His characters live in Arden Forest, and yet they never hear or see a single bird, or insect, all the time they are there. As for animals, deer excepted, there is only a lioness and a green and gilded snake. The oak is the only forest tree in the play. There is not a flower in it." Id. 360.

Now what is the natural inference from all this? Plainly, that the author of the poems and plays had not spent his first twenty years in the midst of the calm and beautiful scenery of Warwickshire, but was town bred, and got his natural history from books. And of course it follows that boy Shakespeare and boy Shaksper were different boys.

Mrs. Pott says: "It might naturally be expected that a man born and bred in the country (such a man as William Shaksper, if he were the author of the poems and plays,) would have given some kind of description of, or scene in, a country town or village.

. . . a village green with rustic dancing, may-pole, etc., or a smithy, a country inn, fair, or market; but there are none of these. Neither is there a harvest home, a haymaking, or Christmas merry-making, nor any of the small pleasures of country life. There is no brewing, cider-making, nor baking, no fruit or hop-picking, no reaping, gleaning or threshing; no scene in a farm or country gentleman's house, no description of homely occupations, nor of any kind of trade. It might naturally be expected that the father of a family, as was William Shakspeare, would have much to say of children; but these are conspicuously absent."

But if the man who wrote these plays was a philosopher first and then a poet, and if the plays "are not nature, nor copies of nature, nor intended to be such, but art, which makes its own world, in imitation no doubt of nature, but with an intentional difference and under artificial forms and arbitrary conditions," as Mr. Ruggles asserts, then it matters nothing whether lionesses and green and gilded snakes were in the forest of Arden, or a sea-coast to Bohemia. It is a fair inference that the artist never spent his boyhood at Stratford.

CHAPTER XVIII.

VIEWS OF THE BAYNES SCHOOL.

Dr. Baynes is obliged to cast aside all the traditions respecting the youth of Shaksper, because he finds him in London, when but lately arrived from Stratford, learned and accomplished. Hence he must have had superior advantages when young. But as the life of boy and man is a blank, all the traditions are worthless, and the Doctor sets himself down to compose from the poems and plays the sort of man their author must have been, "by the evidence of the works themselves." In the first place, there must have been good birth and breeding, for undoubtedly the author was a gentleman. Therefore we will give him a distinguished ancestry. The Doctor deems it more than probable, almost certain, that the name Shakespeare (Dr. Baynes will not have Shakspere—which sounds too much like Jacques-Pierre) was the result of prowess in the wars of the 13th century, (time of Edward I; as well have said the 11th century, and bring in the imaginary ancestor with the battle of Hastings—one is as easily imagined as the other). On the mother's side, he goes back of Edward the Confessor; "a gentlewoman in the truest sense of the term", "the sweetest of influences in the boy's childhood." Now, this is a descent something like—worthy, in fact, of the poems and plays. True, the facts are that the father was an obscure yeoman, and

his mother of the rank of milkmaid—but we will have none of them. And he imagines a school at Stratford scarcely second to Oxford, a school that turned out young gentlemen with a greater knowledge of Latin than any graduate of any college or university in America to-day possesses; a boy Shaksper passionately devoted to Ovid, (the *Venus and Adonis* proves that); able to read for his own instruction and delight, Virgil, Terence, Plautus, Catullus, and Cicero; but of the lot, Ovid was a special favorite with Shaksper at the outset of his career; able to talk and write Latin; composes the *Venus and Adonis* in his youth, and takes the manuscript in his grip when he goes to London. A pretty ideal to construct from the poems and plays, but not the man who played at the Curtain theater, an indifferent actor, both Hallam and White say, who had little Latin, perhaps none, as Dr. Rolfe ingenuously says,—equivalent to saying he had no education at all—and who died at Stratford as devoid of literary accomplishments as when he entered London, and what they were then, both Halliwell-Phillipps and Grant White have shown.

It is worth while to follow Dr. Baynes a little way in his construction of the personality of the author by citations from his works, mixed with a liberal amount of spinning from his own consciousness. He discourses first on the probable curriculum of Stratford school during the years Shaksper was a pupil there. P. 149, *Shakespeare Studies*, Longmans, 1894, (a reprint of Baynes' various essays on Shakespeare). I would repeat here that as to the boy ever having

been at Stratford grammar school at all there is no testimony whatever. It is a supposition at best. "There can be no doubt that he had a very fair education". (That is all very well—a fair education—when talking of Shaksper, but sounds like a joke when applied to the author of the Shakespeare plays). "And it is almost equally certain that he must have obtained it at the grammar school of his native town."

Dr. Baynes then takes Brinsley and Hoole's account of "Grammar school teaching of the time," which, he says, "is of the nature of contemporary evidence" as to what the boy learned. Hoole's book, written about 1625, *fifty years after Shaksper's boyhood*, "abounds with references to the course of instruction in the Wakefield grammar school, . . . and as they agree with Brinsley, we may accept them as a guide to the course of instruction at Stratford." (In same way, we might as sensibly be called on to accept as the course of instruction in the backwoods of one of our states the course prescribed in the principal towns and cities. Stratford, as we have seen, was one of the lowest class of villages of its period; in its stagnation, and ignorance, and booklessness, one to compare unfavorably with anything that can be found in our backwoods, and to suppose that amongst the sort of people who lived there, there was growing up a generation of children who were receiving the advanced education Dr. Baynes outlines, is ridiculous. Even the man Shaksper, player, manager, money lender, thriving and rich, did not send his own daughters to school, and in the absence of all direct testimony on the matter, it is highly improbable that John Shaksper ever sent Will-

iam to school. It would be contrary to the traditions and habits, to the hereditary set of the brain of the tribe. In all their generations and connections the Shakspers had been and were illiterate. Ignorant people have no appreciation of any book knowledge for their children beyond enough to help them along in the world, and they hold the three *r*'s sufficient for that purpose. As to anxiety to have their cubs grounded in the classics, it is nonsense.) "In his first year, therefore, Shaksper would be occupied with the accidence and grammar. In the second year, with the elements of grammar, he would read some manual of phrases and dialogues. In his third, he would take up Cato's Maxims and Esop's Fables. In his fourth, he would read the Eclogues of Mantuanus, parts of Ovid, some of Cicero's Epistles and probably one of his shorter treatises. In his fifth year, he would continue the reading of Ovid's Metamorphoses, with parts of Virgil and Terence; and in the sixth year, Horace, Plautus, and probably parts of Juvenal and Perseus, with some of Cicero's Orations, and Seneca's Tragedies. In going through such a course, unless the teaching at Stratford was exceptionally inefficient, the boy must have made some progress in several of these authors and acquired sufficient knowledge of the language to read fairly well at sight the more popular verse and prose writers, such as Ovid and Cicero." 175.

"Having now gained a general idea of Shaksper's course of school instruction" (is not the logic delicious?), "we have next to inquire whether his writings supply any evidence of his having passed through such a

course." 178. And so Dr. Baynes goes on to search the plays, and sure enough, he finds all the evidence he wanted, and unexpectedly comes on evidence of greater proficiency than he had any idea of, a regular bonanza. He finds that Shaksper must have had some experience of the special exercises belonging to the higher forms, amongst others those of making Latin, or writing Latin epistles, themes and theses. 188. Good boy! All tradition agrees that he must have left school at the age of thirteen (if he went at all), because of his father's poverty, the period of which is well fixed by the records of suits and judgments at Stratford against the unlucky man. But this excellent son not only learned all that could be learned in the regular course of each year he attended school, but managed to gain on the upper forms to a surprising degree, especially remarkable when we consider that all school books were chained to the desk, write Latin, talk Latin, and revel in Latin generally. Why, then, with this vast learning, was he bound apprentice to a butcher, and why did he have to consort with vagabonds and ostracised players in order to make a living? But the marvel does not stop here. "In addition to Latin composition, another distinctive branch of study in the upper school was rhetoric." 190. The good Doctor has as much certainty that there was such a school as if he had seen it and run it. "We may fairly assume that Shaksper remained long enough at school to reach the fifth form, and Love's Labour's Lost supplies a curious piece of evidence tending to show that he had gone through a technical training in the elements of rhetoric", a discovery on which the

Doctor plumes himself as having been hitherto overlooked by the critics and commentators," etc.

"The higher qualities of Ovid's genius and work were indeed precisely of the kind to attract and fascinate the youthful author of *Venus and Adonis*." 201. I agree to that myself.*

"The earlier quotations (from Ovid) show that Shaksper had extended his studies in Ovid, not only beyond the books usually read in the schools, the *De Tristibus*, and the *Metamorphoses*, but beyond the utmost limits where the help of a translation was available." 209. This testimony of the learned Dr. Baynes seems to be at variance with the smattering, picking up, theory of Phillipps, Wallace, Fiske and others. Apparently the author of the plays cannot be the man of whom Ben Jonson said, that he had "small Latin". That was the bard of Stratford.

"It is well known that Shaksper derived several of the names occurring in his dramas, such as *Autolycus*, directly from Ovid. Also *Titania* is clearly derived from the study of Ovid in the original." 212. On p. 209, he quotes from the *Taming of the Shrew*,

"Let's be no stoics, nor no stocks, I pray;
Or so devote to Aristotle's checks
As Ovid be an outcast quite abjured."

The enthusiastic Doctor tells us that this last line

* Even Wendell, 89, talks of Shaksper's "altering and adapting Ovid with excessive verbal care, and altering Plautus; but Wendell's co-professor, Rolfe, and the other one, John Fiske, are unable to find evidence that the writer of the poems and plays had much Latin, "little, perhaps none", Rolfe says.

“suggests that Shaksper had found Ovid’s refreshing tales a welcome relief from his professional labors, a stimulating relaxation for leisure hours.”* On which I would remark, that it is not impossible that this may have been true of the author of the plays, but as to William Shaksper, player and manager, he was accustomed to seek a “welcome relief” and “stimulating relaxation” from certain fluids not far from hand in London then as now.

“We have no evidence to show whether Shaksper was well acquainted with Catullus or not, but we know that he was a diligent student of Ovid.” 329. Truly, he who seeks shall find.

Dr. Baynes’ view is that Stratford was a lovely town (swept by contract every night), with fine houses and cultivated people; a grammar school that was auxiliary to Oxford, and free to all comers. The Shaksperc were of the gentry, of distinguished ancestry on both sides. Young William was nourished on the Bible, Holinshed and Plutarch; later on Ovid and Tully; always slept with a volume of Ovid beneath his pillow, Hence, etc. Alas, we remember that Don Quixote’s battlemented castle resolved itself into a humble inn, and the knights and ladies into sow-gelders and cobbler’s daughters.

* Of course Shaksper’s well-thumbed copy of Ovid had to be found, and we read in Lee, 15: “In the Bodleian Library is a copy of the Aldine edition of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (1502) and on the title is the signature ‘Wm. Sh.’ which experts have declared—not quite conclusively—to be a genuine autograph of the poet.” Inasmuch as this Shaksper never wrote his name twice alike, of course this autograph is as genuine as the rest.

The trouble with Dr. Baynes' piece of sculpture is that we happen to know what the historical Shaksper was, and the sculptured creature does not in any one point resemble the real individual. That Shaksper was himself a poet, after a fashion, no one denies. His effusions are well known. Thus:

“Tear in the hundred the Devil allows,
But Combe will have twelve, he swears and vows,
If any one asks who lives in this tombe,
‘Ho’, quoth the Devil, ‘t is my John a Combe.”

This, and two or three morceaux of like character, including the Lucy lampoon, and the doggerel verse on his tomb-stone, are all that are authentically recorded of the works of William Shaksper, player and manager.

“Time has spared two specimens of Shaksper's mode of attack. It so happens that one of them is a ballad, and the other an epigram; the first written on a person whose park he had robbed, and the second on a friend who had left him a legacy.” Gifford, *Memoirs of Ben Jonson*, Moxon's Ed. 18.

As to the probability of any such thorough and advanced school having existed at such a place as Stratford: “The common people were densely ignorant. They had to pick up their mother tongue as best they could. The first English grammar was not published until 1586 (after Shaksper had left school). It was evident that much schooling was impossible, for the necessary books did not exist. The horn-book for teaching the alphabet would almost exhaust the resources of the common day-schools that might ex-

ist in the towns and villages. Little, if any, English was taught even in the lower classes of the grammar schools." Goadby, England of Shakespeare, quoted from Donnelly, 30.

"As a rule, since the event (the Reformation), there was no educated person in the parish beyond the parson." Prof. Thorold Rogers, Donnelly, 30.

What Halliwell-Phillipps says of the educational possibilities of the boy Shaksper, I have before recorded: that, if he went to school at all, his earliest knowledge of Latin was derived from the elementary books mentioned,—that all the authorities unite in telling us that his acquaintance with Latin throughout his life was of a limited character; that books were very scarce; and that the Latin grammar and a few classical works, chained to the desk of the free school, were probably the only volumes of the kind to be found in Stratford." Now, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps is stated by Wilder to have been a "great Shaksperian scholar and antiquary. . . . Gradually he came to concentrate upon Shaksper alone, and more particularly on the facts of his life." He dealt in facts, as Dr. Baynes dealt in fiction, and therefore, of the two, when facts are in question, his book alone is trustworthy.

What became of the other learned youths who graduated at the same school? Is there any known man of that generation who has been traced to the Stratford school? Not one, and for the best of reasons: there was no such boy or man, and no such school.

"Even had there been books, it seems that there were no schoolmasters in the days when young William

went to school, who could have taught him what was necessary. Ascham, who came a little earlier than Shaksper, said that such masters as were to be had amounted to nothing, and for the most part, so behaved themselves that their very name is hateful to the scholar, etc. Milton, who came a little later, said that their teaching was mere babblement and notions." Morgan, V. and A., 143.

Craik says: "It may be doubted if popular education was farther extended at the close of the reign of Elizabeth than it was at the commencement of that of her father or her grandfather. Even the length of time that printing had been at work, and the multiplication of books that must have taken place, had probably but very little, if at all, extended the knowledge and the habit of reading among the mass of the people." I think we may dismiss the subject of the Stratford Grammar School and the learning Baynes imagines was acquired there, as not deserving a second thought.

Nothing new concerning the boy, or the man Shaksper, has been discovered since the end of the century of his death.

Mrs. Dall, 160, says: "On the 24th of March, 1603, the Queen died. In spite of many marks of her favor he wrote no verse of eulogy or lamentation. His silence was remarked, for more than one of the smaller poets called on him by name to bewail the dead Queen. He never forgave the Queen, who put Essex to death," etc., etc.

According to Ingleby, p. 56, an anonymous versi-

fier, 1603, wrote "A mourneful Dittie entitled Elizabeth's Losse", etc., in which are these lines:—

"You poets all, brave Shakspeare, Jonson, Greene,
Bestow your time to write for England's Queene,
Lament, lament, lament you English Peeres,
Lament your losse possest so many years.
Returne your songs and sonnets and your lavs:
To set forth sweet Elizabetha's praise."

To be sure Shakespeare, the poet, is here called on, but the summons has no application to Shaksper the player. Beyond this Ingleby gives nothing, and evidently this anonymous smaller poet was the only one who called on Shakespeare to bewail, etc. Player Shaksper did not lament in verse; he would have at once exposed himself. There is a story of a jackdaw in a dovecote, who opened his mouth with disastrous results to his standing.

CHAPTER XIX.

VIEWS OF THE PHILLIPPS SCHOOL; OF MR. FLEAY,
AND SOME OTHER COMMENTATORS.

As I have said, there are various schools of Shakspeareans. One, including such writers as Halliwell-Phillipps and Richard Grant White, give faith to the traditions and testimonies, and allow the boy William a very humble beginning, scanty instruction, followed by apprenticeship to a butcher, "the practical life of a butcher," H.-P. says, with, from the nature of the case, in that ignorant and bookless neighborhood, no opportunities for mental improvement, and take him to London about twenty-one or twenty-two years of age. The next few years, concerning which they say there is not a particle of evidence as to his occupations, are held by this school as having been the educational period of Shaksper's life, and necessarily. He put out, they say, the Venus and Adonis seven years after he entered London, and as this proved his education, he must, somehow, have educated himself within these seven years; because, as Halliwell-Phillipps expresses it, "it is difficult to believe that when he first left Stratford he was not all but destitute of polished accomplishments. After he had once, however, gained a footing in London, he would have been in different conditions. Books of many kinds would have been accessible to him and he would have been within daily hearing of the dramatic poetry of the age. There

would also no doubt have been occasional facilities for picking up a little smattering of the continental languages, and it is also beyond a doubt that he added somewhat to his classical knowledge during his residence in the metropolis." Can Mr. Phillipps be talking of the same man Professor Baynes has in mind, the accomplished student, who in his teens was familiar with Ovid and Catullus?

"It is, for instance, hardly possible, that the *Amores* of Ovid, whence he derived his earliest motto, prefixed to the *Venus and Adonis*, could have been one of his school-books." H.-P.

Mr. Fleay, as we have seen, takes a very different view from that of Mr. Phillipps. In the first place, he brings young Shaksper to London from one to two years later than Phillipps does; in the next place, he has him writing plays—plays of high life—almost at once, and keeps him writing play after play in rapid succession. Apparently he would allow no other occupation to interfere with writing—that was the young man's special business. On page 25, however, we are told that up to 1593 (from 1587 to 1593) "he had been an actor, gradually rising in the estimation of his fellows," (this must be pure intuition on Mr. Fleay's part, for there is no testimony to that effect), "but had often been obliged to travel, and to act about town in inn-yards, and his play writing had been confined to vamping old plays by other men, or at best, to assisting such writers as Wilson and Peele in producing new ones." Yet it would seem clear to the average mind, that if, in 1589, two years after he entered London, he produced *Love's Labour's Lost*, followed almost im-

mediately by Love's Labour's Won (Much Ado About Nothing), and by 1591, the three other plays before enumerated, he must have obtained somewhere a very advanced education, and that, of course, could only have been gained at Stratford.

On page 7, we read: "Nothing whatever is known of his early life," and the only two reliable facts are, the date of his baptism, and that of his marriage, all between being a blank. Doubtless, if this were so, William Shaksper might have had an education as thorough as John Milton's, for aught that could be known, and have come naturally, without violence, to be a writer of poems and plays, though it would still be a matter of astonishment that so accomplished a youth could have sunk so low, at the age of twenty-three, as to be compelled to consort with strolling players.

Mr. Fleay reasons back from the plays—this young man wrote them; therefore he had an education and training that enabled him to write them. As this is unsupported by any testimony, and contrary to all the traditions, Mr. Fleay's view cannot be the correct one, although he is probably right when he fixes the dates at which the several Shakespeare plays first appeared.

"Thou canst not utter what thou dost not know", the author of the plays tells us. It is none of Mr. Fleay's business where young Shaksper got his learning and accomplishments, and he gives no hint as to what he thinks of that matter. His book is written for "discussion of the evidence on which the chronological succession of Shakespeare's plays is based", and Phillipps' "facts" may take care of themselves.

Here is a Shakespeare play acted in 1589, and, of course, written earlier, and before that, preparation made for it by study, meditation, and travel. This is followed by three others, in 1590 and 1591.* One set of facts refuses to make a tight joint with the other set of facts, and like the memorable ass between the two bundles of hay, William Shaksper is left hungry—and is also out in the cold. Some other man wrote those plays. William is not to be blamed apparently; his greatness was thrust upon him, long after he was moldering in the ground. During his lifetime, and he lived twenty-four years after the first appearance of a Shakespeare play, not a soul attributed the authorship to him or thought of him as an author of any kind. More than that, there is no evidence that he ever claimed to be the author of the Shakespeare plays, or any one play of the thirty-six; or that he ever opened his mouth on the subject of authorship.

* Wendell's book is one of the latest on this subject, and the author says, p. 82: "The weight of opinion makes this, *Love's Labour's Lost*, the earliest play unquestionably assigned to Shakspere. It is conjectured from internal evidence to have been written as early as 1589, or 1590." Of the *Comedy of Errors*, he says, p. 88: "Modern critics generally agree in placing it, on internal evidence, before 1591, with a slight preference for 1589, or 1590." Of the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, he says, 92: "On internal evidence modern critics generally agree in placing it early—from 1591 to 1593 or so." Of *Romeo and Juliet*, he says, 116: "Conjectures as to date range from 1591." So it is apparent that the best modern critics are agreed that several of the Shakespeare plays were written during the years Phillipps assigns to the educational period of William Shaksper's life, and that the series was begun shortly after that young fellow came to London,

CHAPTER XX.

THE SMATTERING, PICKING-UP SCHOOL.

Dr. Wallace makes the young man gather knowledge of law terms by attending inquests and Justices' Courts at Stratford, and by occasional attendance upon the Courts at Westminster, after he came to London. He continues: "Through his foreign acquaintances he might have obtained translations of some of those Italian or Spanish tales which furnish a portion of his plots, and which have been supposed to indicate an amount of learning he could not have possessed."

This school regards Shaksper as a phenomenal human sponge which imbibed knowledge by capillary attraction, and not by hard labor, as ordinary mortals do. The author of these works, Dr. Wallace says, "was a transcendent genius, and it is the special quality of genius to be able to acquire and assimilate knowledge . . . under conditions that to ordinary men would be impossible. Admitting, as we must admit, the genius, there is no difficulty, no impossibility." And Dr. Wallace goes on to say, as I have mentioned before, that Shaksper got his exquisite knowledge of Nature, which the plays show to be extraordinary and profound, (but which the writer in the *Quarterly* above quoted proves to have been gained from books and traditions and not from nature) from living twenty years "in the midst of the calm and beautiful scenery of Warwickshire". (Though what connection there

is between scenery and a knowledge of nature, does not appear.) He acquired "some portion of the knowledge of manners and speech of nobles and kings which appear in the historical plays from resorting at times of festivity to the lordly castles of Warwick and Kenilworth", aided by the instruction of the servants and retainers. "He would have studied human nature under every possible aspect in London, then as now, crowded with adventurers of all nations." (London was, in 1603, a city of 150,000 inhabitants—the size of Jersey City or Minneapolis in 1900). How he gained his classical learning, so extensive that the Latin language became "amalgamated and consubstantiated with his native thought," and how he became the possessor of the 15,000 to 21,000 vocabulary, Dr. Wallace, and none of that school explain. They speak of a "smattering", of "picking-up" somewhat. Mrs. Dall says: "He wrote as a bird sings". A writer in the Boston Transcript, March 30th, 1894, says of him: "He had but a smattering of book-learning. Nature was his only book"; which is to say that he had no learning at all. "Was this man, so extraordinary from whatever side we look at him . . . an inspired idiot, a vast irregular genius, a simple rustic, warbling his native wood-notes wild; in other words insensible to the benefits of culture?" Lowell. Even to Halliwell-Phillipps the Shakespeare plays seem to have been written by inspiration, not by design, and it is the only way to account for them, if player Shaksper wrote the plays.

Another writer in the Transcript, hailing from Berlin, July 3rd, 1894, tells the public that Edwin Bor-

man, poet, etc., has shown, in a book of many pages, that Bacon was the author of the Shakespeare Plays. In a few days he is followed by a long letter from one John Michels, taking the ground that Bacon could not have been the author, because the plays show the author to have been illiterate and are everywhere defective—full of all sorts of blunders. This sort of talk intentionally belittles the acquirements of the real author, in order to make him come into agreement with the historic man and player William Shaksper.

Let us see what a Professor of English at Harvard College teaches his classes; quoting Barrett-Wendell's "William Shakspere", published 1894, p. 400: "Nothing more surprises such readers of Shakespeare as are not practical men of letters" (such as Hartley Coleridge, S. T. Coleridge, J. R. Lowell, Henry J. Ruggles, and that ilk, I suppose) "than the man's apparent learning. To one used to writing, the phenomenon is less surprising. Whoever will take a few Elizabethan books, North's Plutarch, for example, Paynter's Palace of Pleasure, Fox's Martyrs, Holinshead, and Coke on Littleton," (Hear that, ye shades of great lawyers from Elizabeth to Victoria!) "and with the help of stray passages from all, translate some narrative from one of these into blank-verse dialogue, will produce an effect of erudition which shall profoundly impress not only his readers but himself. Whoever has a few compendious works on hand, and knows how to use them, can make himself seem a miracle of learning to whoever does not know his secret. . . . Given these facts, and given the exceptionally concrete habit of thought and phrase

native to Shakspere, and Shakspere's learning is no longer a marvel, except to those who insist upon finding it so."

The lectures of Wendell may be the source of so many letters in the Transcript, the past few years, belittling the author of these plays. I should like to hear this lecturer of Harvard, who thinks that anybody could have written these immortal works—a mere matter of trick to one who knows the secret—explain how it came to pass that the author attained the enormous vocabulary we have heard of; how it was that he coined new words by hundreds, *currente calamo*, whenever he needed to do so to express his thought, coined directly from the Latin or Greek root; whose mind was so imbued with the Latin language that he unconsciously incorporated it into his English; whose classical allusions are amalgamated and consubstantiated with his native thought, according to one used to writing, if anybody ever was, how it happened that Hallam, and Coleridge, and Lowell, and hundreds of other men used to writing, have recorded their verdict that the man's learning was real and prodigious, and not apparent and fraudulent; how it is that Principal Baynes extols the solid learning, which he says the writings supply clear evidence of; how it was that he could have written works that are classed by Mr. Marsh with the Bible and Milton; how it was that, according to Mr. Ruggles, a diligent student of both Bacon's works and the Shakespeare plays, the author of the latter was everywhere in touch with the Baconian philosophy, and the whole scope and tenor of the plays exemplifies the system of that philosophy; how

it was that lawyer White declared that legal phrases flow from his pen as a part of his vocabulary and parcel of his thought; and Chief-Justice Campbell, that the works show the author to be very familiar with some of the most abstruse proceedings in English jurisprudence, and that Shakespeare's law is always good law.

(Is it possible that any literary man to-day, to say nothing of a professional lecturer on English literature, can know so little of law as to suppose that a playwright, educated or uneducated, could pick up good law and apply it correctly, and make himself familiar with the abstruse proceedings of English jurisprudence, by glancing at and running through Coke on Littleton? Certainly the language used assumes that such a thing is possible. Is there not a law school at Cambridge, where a literary, non-legal man, could be told what a ridiculous claim that is?) I rather think lecturer Wendell would do well to study his Shakespeare anew, and see if he has not overlooked something.

On p. 423-4, of same book, I find this: "The son of a ruined country tradesman, and saddled with a wife and three children, his business at twenty-three was to conduct himself so that he might end it not as a laborer, but as a gentleman. After five-and-twenty years of steady work, this end had been accomplished. . . . Such a material achievement as Shakspeare's involves an imaginative feat quite as wonderful, if not so rare, as the imaginative feat involved in the creation of Shakspeare's works." Which looks very much like an assertion that the making one's pile is quite as wonderful an achievement as the writing of

great poems and plays; and the implication is that if a man could accomplish the one, he had in him the possibility of the other.

It is a strange thing that this Shaksper, who had but a smattering of learning, and that consisting of such bits as he had picked up after he came to London, should, as the author "Shakespeare", be cited on every page of the great dictionaries for current and correct usage of English. According to some advocates of the smattering view, he was so ignorant that he did not know that Bohemia was an inland country, or that Ajax and Ulysses were not modern Italians—made endless exhibitions of himself in history, archæology, geography; yet when it came to the words used, there was no ignorance, no blundering. He blundered in all directions save in the use of the English language. It is enough to find a word in the Shakespeare plays to give it authority and currency. This man was a great worker in words, says Ruggles. "He had supreme dominion over every form of expression". We have seen that Marsh asserts that Shakespeare and Milton and the Bible were the three lode-stars that held the language firm, the attraction of the Shakespeare star as powerful as either of the others. Curious enough that nine-tenths of the people in the English-speaking countries should have got it in their heads that one of the three who helped to hold the language firm, was an uneducated butcher, who spent the first twenty-two years of his life in a bookless neighborhood, and the last thirty years as a tramp player, or as a purveyor of "nasty fish-scrap" to the stinkards and prostitutes who frequented the

public theater. There was a Shakespeare as well as a Shaksper, and a little mixing has been done.

Fleay, 82, tells us that these plays could never have been conceived without much solitude, much suffering and much concentration.* But this is neither more nor less than an assertion that manager Shaksper had no hand in them. The authorities are agreed that he led the life of a strolling player from the beginning to the end of his career. At no time, then, had he solitude. He could not have had it as he tramped, and when in London, he was one of those who kept high jinks at the taverns. There is no record of, and no probability of, his ever suffering a pang, being the man he was, beyond what he felt at the escape of some poor devil of a debtor whom he had got into his clutches. When, in 1609, one Addenbroke, whom he had tormented for six pounds, skipped, and our usurer-player had to proceed against his bail, one Hornby, (Fleay, 161), his anguish must have been powerful; and when his nice scheme of getting possession of the common fields came to naught, doubtless he beat his breast. I agree with Mr. Fleay, however, that the author of the plays, whoever he was, had worked in solitude, suffered much, and had an amazing power of concentration. But he was of another species from this player. It is truly a remarkable thing that every characteristic of the author as

* "Whoever wrote *King Lear* must have been intellectually alert to the verge of madness, passionately sensitive to all the misery he perceived, ironical yet pitiful; kept within the bounds of sanity mostly by the blessed accident that he had mastered and controlled a great art of expression." Wendell, 301.

deduced from the plays, renders it the more impossible that player Shaksper had any hand in them.

As to acquiring knowledge without study, it cannot be done. One man will learn more easily than another, but the one has to work as well as the other. Genius will do wonders with material once gathered, but genius does not provide or originate facts on which to work. No man ever became learned out of his own consciousness. The verdict of mankind, based on all experience, is that knowledge comes neither by inspiration nor accident, and that there is no royal, or other than the common, road to learning. Daniel Webster said to one who asked him if his reply to Hayne had not been extemporaneous, "Young man, there is no such thing as extemporaneous acquisition." Lodge, *Life of Webster*, tells us (p. 190) that "he is reported to have said that his whole life had been a preparation for the reply to Hayne. Whether he said it or not, the statement is true. The thoughts . . . had been garnered for years, and this in a greater or less degree was true of all his finest efforts. The preparation on paper was trifling, but the mental preparation, extending over weeks, sometimes perhaps over years, was elaborate to the last point."

"Men give me credit for genius," said Alexander Hamilton. "All the genius I have lies in just this: when I have a subject in hand, I study it profoundly day and night. It is part of me; I explore it in all its bearings; my mind becomes pervaded with it. Then the effort which I make people are pleased to call the fruit of genius; it is the fruit of labor and thought." A distinguished writer, commenting on this, said:

"Hamilton was a genius in spite of his disavowal; but genius cannot supply the place of information, nor render unnecessary the thorough work which must precede mastery of any subject," etc. And yet there are people—scholars too—who argue and pretend to believe that one man of all the sons of men was so constructed that he was able to toss off learned works with no preparation, no study, and no information, and that all he did this for was to fill his theater and his own pockets. They appear to be rational on other subjects. They would scout the idea of something coming out of nothing; of effects without sufficient causes; of water rising higher than its source, or running up hill; of the barber's basin being the golden helmet of Mambrino. Sane on all subjects save one, Shaksper; and there as lunatic as ever was Don Quixote.

On the other hand, Dr. Baynes, finding profound learning, knowledge and accomplishments, in the poems and plays, and feeling confident that after young Shaksper came to London and began his life with the strolling players, there was no chance for acquisition, gives him an ample equipment at the Stratford school, and all the advantages of birth and breeding of which I have spoken. No matter what the traditions and testimonies are, they come in contact with the plain fact that this man, even while very young, had vast learning acquired from books, as the poems and plays show, and also that their author was a gentleman born and bred. From Dr. Baynes' point of view, this theory is undoubtedly correct. If William Shaksper, of Stratford, really wrote these

plays, the traditions must be swept away as absurd and false, and the author must be built up from his works. And Baynes does build very skillfully a structure, which, if we knew nothing whatever of the history of Shaksper, might be accepted as a faithful likeness of the boy and man. Neither school, therefore, presents us with the historical man; he is ignored altogether.

It is just as credible that an unlettered country lad, coming up to London, should presently put out the counterparts of Wallace's *Island Life*, or Darwin's *Origin*, under immediate inspiration, or spontaneous acquisition, works that cost either of those authors fully thirty years of laborious preparation, as that the youth William Shaksper, and the man Shaksper, depicted on the pages of Halliwell-Phillipps, could have written the poems and plays attributed to "William Shakespeare". If one were told that John Thomas took a running leap and vaulted over an umbrageous oak, no evidence of alleged eye-witnesses could make a reasonable man believe it. He would say there must have been some trick, some illusion, something he could not understand, and refuse his faith. So with the Shaksper case; no testimony, however direct, should make a reasonable man believe that this unlearned youth and man was or could be the author of the learned works in question. It happens that there is no direct testimony whatever. Absolutely, beyond Ben Jonson's gibing elegiac verses, (as we have seen, even Mr. Fleay tells us that little value is to be attributed to them), there is no testimony of any kind—

nothing but imputation and general reputation. These things occurred three hundred years ago, and there was some secret, some deception, some illusion. That from an unlearned man proceeded learned writings is an impossible thing, and reversing Tertullian's maxim, being impossible, it is therefore incredible.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LIKENESSES OF WILLIAM SHAKSPER.

Men of intellect have intellectual heads, and learning leaves its impress on the face. The only authentic likeness of Shaksper, the only one certified to by any man who had personally known him, is that prefixed to the Folio of 1623, distinguished as the "Droeshout".

In 1624, James Boaden published "An Enquiry into the authenticity of various Pictures and Prints which from the decease of the Poet to our own times, have been offered to the public as Portraits of Shakespeare." No. 1 is the Droeshout likeness, and I give a copy of it from Boaden, on the following page.

Under it, in the Folio, stand Jonson's lines:

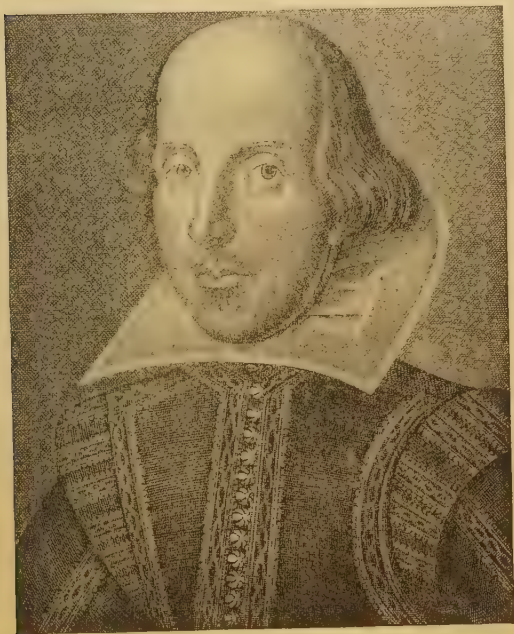
"This figure, that thou seest put
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;
Wherein the graver had a strife
With nature, to out-do the life;" etc.

Ingleby, 141, on this verse, says: "Jonson here contrives to pay both Engraver and Poet the highest compliment; if the former could have drawn the wit of the latter as well as he has drawn his face, the print from his drawing would be the finest thing ever done."

Mr. R. G. White says: "This print is a hard, wooden, staring thing"; and Mr. Donnelly, that "no

Shaksperean has yet been found to admit it as the idol of his dreams."

Norris, Portraits of Shakspeare, says: "It is not



known from what it was copied, and many think it unlike any human being."

Morgan says: "The hair is straight, combed down the sides of the face, and bunched over the ears; the forehead is disproportionately high; the face has the

wooden expression familiar in the Indians used as signs for tobacconists shops, accompanied by an idiotic stare."

Halliwell-Phillipps, I, 297: "The Stratford effigy and this engraving are the only unquestionably authentic representations of the living Shakespeare (Shaksper) that are known to exist; not one of the numerous others, for which claims to the distinction have been advanced, having an evidential pedigree of a satisfactory character." He considers the Droeshout an authentic likeness, because of Jonson's verses under it; which verses, it is clear to me, testify to this portrait having been a caricature.

In the long line of illustrious English poets, William Shaksper, held by most people to have written the Shakespeare poems and plays, and to tower above all that Britain has produced in the way of poets, is the only man who looks in the Droeshout likeness of him to be an interloper in that company. Chaucer and Spenser, Milton and Wordsworth, Byron, Scott, Tennyson, in their portraits, look the great men they were; whereas Shaksper is vulgar by comparison with any one of them, and has the presentation of little better than a fool. (Among variety-show or circus people, perhaps he would look as intellectual as the next man). Hence the pathetic eagerness with which his disappointed votaries turn to the bogus Flower portrait, the bogus Chandos portrait, to the bogus death-mask,—given in the Hamlet volume of the Temple Shakespeare as an undoubted relic—the bogus "best likeness", composed and set up in Stratford-on-Avon by Lord Ronald Gower; ready to accept anything so that

it looks entirely unlike that Droeshout or unlike the man himself.

Skottowe, App. 23, says: "Without the reader has had the misfortune to behold this much eulogized specimen of the graphic art, he will be surprised to learn that the plate is not only at variance with the tradition of Shakspeare's appearance having been prepossessing; but irreconcilable with a belief of its ever having borne a striking resemblance to any human being. Its defects, indeed, are so obvious, that it has been thought necessary to apologize for Jonson by the production of similar instances of prostitution of compliment; and also by the supposition that he never saw the engraving," etc.

Drake speaks of the "wretched engraving, thus undeservedly eulogized" (by Jonson), and says: "As Mr. Steevens has well remarked, Shakspeare's countenance, deformed by Droeshout, resembles the sign of Sir Roger de Coverley, when it had been changed into a Saracen's head; on which occasion the Spectator observes that the features of the gentle Knight were still apparent through the lineaments of the ferocious Mussulman."

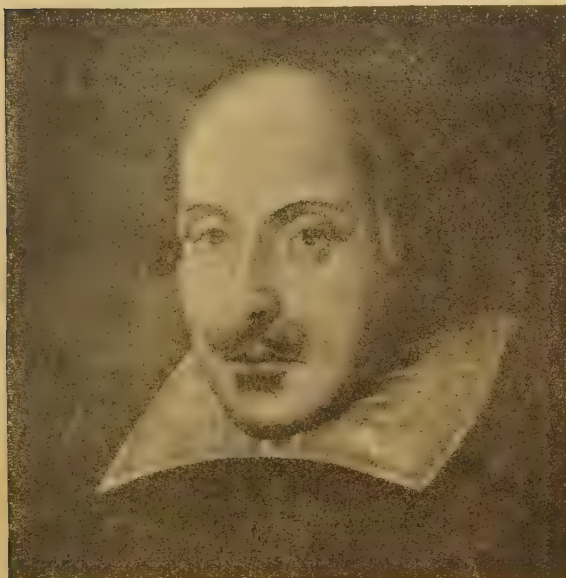
Reed, 35, says of this Droeshout: "It is, without doubt, a caricature," and he quotes Ingleby, "I, for one, do not believe that it had any trustworthy exemplar"; and Norris, "It is not known from what it it was copied, and many think it unlike any human being."

Mr. Lee has prefaced his book with a cut of what is called the Flower likeness, and on page 288, says: "There is little doubt that young Droeshout in fashion-

ing his engraving worked from a painting, and there is a likelihood that the original picture from which he worked has lately come to light. As recently as 1892, Mr. Edgar Flower, of Stratford-on-Avon, discovered in the possession of Mr. H. C. Clements, residing at Peckham Rye, a portrait alleged to represent Shakespeare. The picture, which was faded, and somewhat worm-eaten, dated beyond all doubt from the early years of the seventeenth century. It was painted on a panel formed of two planks of old elm, and in the upper left hand corner was the inscription, 'Willm Shakespeare, 1609. Mr. Clement purchased the portrait of an obscure dealer about 1840, and knew nothing of its history beyond what he set down on a slip of paper when he acquired it: 'The original portrait of Shakespeare, from which the now famous Droeshout engraving was taken,' " etc. Mr. Lee goes on: "Connoisseurs have almost unreservedly pronounced the picture to be anterior in date to the engraving, and they have reached the conclusion that, in all probability, Martin Droeshout directly based his work upon the painting. . . . Although the history of the portrait rests on critical conjecture, and on no external contemporary evidence, there seems good ground* for regarding it as a portrait of Shakespeare painted in his

* Behold a fine example of the genesis and growth of a Shakspearean myth. Mr. Lee thinks "there seems good ground," etc.; the next man assumes that the ground is good; and prefaces the new edition of the Temple Shakespeare with the Flower portrait as a genuine likeness of the bard. First the demand, then the find and a suggestion, and presently the assertion, and the myth is on its way!

life time—in the forty-fifth year of his age.” I give a copy of this likeness.



It is another case of demand and supply. When anything in the Shaksper line is needed, the gods have a way of producing it. I should say that the face of this picture represents a man of not over thirty-five years of age, which is about that of the Droeshout. It has a conspicuous moustache of which there is no trace in the Droeshout. But without criticising

the portrait myself, I have only to refer to a paper published in Harper's Magazine, May, 1897: "On two undescribed Portraits of Shakespeare", by John Corbin. After relating all the arguments used to authenticate the Flower Portrait, and the opinions of experts—artists and antiquaries—in its favor, he goes on to say: "In the discussion that followed, (at a meeting of the Antiquarian Society) Sir Charles Robinson, Her Majesty's Surveyor of Pictures, pointed out that the inscription is in cursive characters. The custom of that period was to use capitals. Mr. Sidney Colvin, Keeper of Prints in the British Museum, told me later that this cursive inscription was unique in his experience. Abandoning therefore the inscription and date, Sir Charles guardedly attributed the picture to the early half of the seventeenth century.

"On the other hand, Dr. Furnivall assailed the picture with his customary vigor, on the ground that it has no pedigree, and declared that it was a make-up of the late seventeenth century from the print and the bust, both of which the artist had seen. . . . Since the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, Sir Charles Robinson has shifted his ground. In spite of the expert testimony that the panel is antique English elm, Sir Charles still declares (October, 1896) that it is foreign, and pronounces the portrait a very careful forgery. In September, 1896, Mr. Sidney Colvin told me that, though he should assign the portrait to a very late date, perhaps the first half of the seventeenth century, he regarded it as a very careful copy of the print. Sir E. J. Poynter observed that there are traces of an earlier portrait on the surface, notably

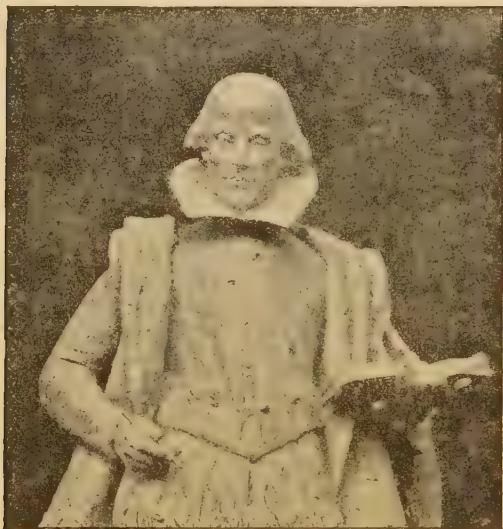
the edge of a ruff in the right-hand corner, and a line from the right eye down the cheek." Mr. Corbin was desirous of getting a scientific description of the portrait, and "so wrought upon the enthusiasm of a connoisseur of the school of Morelli and Berenson, that he went with me to Stratford. Although he insists that his judgment is merely that of an amateur, he has kindly permitted me to copy his notes: 'Life-size painted on a thin coating of gesso. . . . The panel is English elm, worm-holed, and of undoubted antiquity. Red appears in the ground where the over-painting has cracked off. Hair apparently painted in bitumen. All the drawing precisely like that on the print, including costume. Technique, an illogical combination of broad, scratchy, and of smooth. Clearly, a late copy of the print'."

Mr. Corbin speaks of the worm holes in the panel, and certain appearances of same: "Some of them are clear-cut; others seem painted round the edges; and at least one, in the line of the right cheek-bone, has plainly been painted over; it is discernible now only because the paint has sagged into it. If these appearances are to be relied on, the painter sought to give an appearance of antiquity by using a panel already worm-holed. In coloring, the portrait resembles the bust with a single exception. I failed to find the least trace of hazel in the eyes; they are simply muddy blue."

So much for this Flower portrait! We shall have to fall back on Lord Ronald Gower's "best likeness."

The cut next given is taken from a photogravure of Macmonnie's statue of player Shaksper, made for the

Congressional Library, at Washington, and is meant to follow the Droeshout portrait, which it does pretty well. But the sculptor has thought best to give a



bulging upper forehead to his creation, which is not in the Droeshout, and doubtless this is meant to introduce a modicum of brains. It would seem rather rickets than brains. As in the Droeshout, the brow is depressed, showing a very weak development of the perceptive organs. The figure is hardly what might be expected as that of a man equal to writing the Shakespeare plays. He seems to be lecturing to one of Professor Wendell's classes on English belles-lettres.

One thing is noticeable, that there is not the least resemblance between this face, made from the Droeshout, and the face of the Stratford bust.

No. 2, of Boaden, is a portrait prefixed to the edition of the plays of 1630, supposed by that author to be a copy of the other, "or the unknown picture from which it was taken."

No. 3, the "Felton Head," is dismissed as spurious.

Next in order comes the Stratford bust, No. 4, and copied here from Boaden (see on following page):

This bust represents a man fully fifty years of age, built after the model of a bullet-headed general, one of Elizabeth's warriors, perhaps. It has a short, thick, nearly straight nose;* a long and thick upper lip; a full lower lip; a wide, flat face; a stout jaw and square chin; eyes projecting; mustache midway between the nose and edge of lip, tightly curling upward; a pointed beard; and the lightly curling hair ends above the ears. (This arrangement of hair and beard was in the latest fashion of the period.)

Dowden says, 41: "It (the bust) presents a face powerful and full-blooded, rather than refined or subtle;" and adds, 42: "Besides the bust there is only one authenticated portrait of the great poet, that upon the title page of the First Folio." That is, in Mr.

* Mr. Corbin, in the paper before quoted, says of the nose of the bust: "It is so short that the end is generally supposed to have been chipped off accidentally early in the carving, and the present apology for a nose carved out of what remained." Which is an ingenious way of accounting for one discrepancy between bust and print. What about the others, the hair, for example?

Dowden's opinion, the Droeshout portrait is one likeness of Shaksper, and this bust is another. There is not one feature in common between the Droeshout



and the bust. If one is a likeness the other cannot be.

"This bust was carved by nobody knows whom, from nobody knows what, and nobody knows when; for the accepted statement that it was cut by Gerald

Johnson, an Amsterdam 'Tombe-maker', can be traced to no historical source." Morgan. "If Ben Jonson, knowing his friend William Shakspeare to have been the martial and elegant looking gentleman the Stratford bust represents him, authorized the verses under the Droeshout engraving, it was a deliberate libel on his part, only perhaps to be explained by his secret enmity to William Shakspeare." Id.

Halliwell-Phillipps, 281, says: "The precise history of the bust is unknown", but he supposes it may have been made by a "tomb-maker" in London. "It was originally painted in imitation of life, the face and hands of the usual flesh color, the eyes a light hazel, and the hair and beard auburn. The realization of the costume was similarly attempted by the use of scarlet for the doublet, black for the loose gown, and white for the collar and wristbands. But colors on stone are only of temporary endurance, and not only had so large a portion of them disappeared in the lapse of a hundred and thirty years, but so much decay was observable in some parts of the effigy, that it was considered advisable, in 1748, to have it entirely renovated. It is, of course, impossible at this day to assess the extent of the mischief that may have been perpetrated on that occasion, but that it was very considerable may be inferred from a contemporary account of the directions given to the artist, who was instructed to 'beautify' as well as 'repair', and to make the whole as like as possible to what it was when first created. . . . In 1793, Malone persuaded the vicar to allow the whole of the bust to be painted in white." On this matter, it is well to hear Charles Lamb: "The wretched Malone could

not do worse, when he bribed the sexton of the Stratford Church to let him white-wash the painted effigy of old Shakespeare, which stood there, in rude but lively fashion, depicted to the very color of the cheek, the eye, the eye-brow, the very dress he used to wear—the only authentic testimony we had, however imperfect, of those curious parts and parcels of him. They covered him over with a coat of white paint. By —, if I had been a justice of the peace for Warwickshire, I would have clapt both commentator and sexton fast in the stocks, for a pair of meddling, sacrilegious varlets.”

Boaden's copy, of course, gives the bust in its white phase. Mr. Phillipps adds: “It remained in this last mentioned (white) state for many years; but, in 1861, there was a second imitation of the original coloring. This step was induced by the seriously adverse criticism to which the operation of 1793 had been subjected; but although the action then taken has been so frequently condemned, it did not altogether obliterate the semblance of an intellectual human being, and this is more than can be said of the miserable travesty which now distresses the eye of the pilgrim.”

Drake, after telling us how the bust had been originally colored, goes on:—“After remaining in this state above 120 years, Mr. John Ward, grandfather of Mrs. Siddons and Mr. Kemble, caused it to be repaired, and the original colors preserved, in 1784, from the profits of the representation of Othello. This was a generous, and apparently judicious act, and therefore very unlike the next alteration it was subjected to, in 1793. In that year, Mr. Malone caused the

bust to be covered with one or more coats of white paint, and thus at once destroyed its original character, and greatly injured the expression of the face. Having absurdly characterized this expression for pertness, and therefore 'differing from that placid composure and thoughtful gravity so perceptible in his original portrait (the Droeshout), and his best prints', Mr. Malone could have few scruples about injuring or destroying it."

Mr. Phillipps says: "The exact time at which the monument was erected in the church is unknown, but it is alluded to by Leonard Digges as being there in the year 1623." This allusion is found in Digges' doggerel verses partly quoted before. .

" Shake-speare, at length thy pious fellowes give
The world thy Workes; thy Workes, by which, out-live
Thy Tombe, thy name must; when that stone is rent,
And Time dissolves thy Stratford moniment,
Here we alive shall view thee still."

Mr. Phillipps proceeds: "Upon a rectangular tablet, placed below the bust, are engraved the following lines:

' Judicio Pylum, genio Socratem, arte Maronem
Terra tegit, populus moeret, Olympus habet.
Stay passenger, why goest thou so fast? .
Read, if thou canst, whom envious death hath plast
Within this monument, Shakspeare, with whome
Quick nature dide; whose name doth deck ys tombe
Far more then cost; sith all yt he hath writt
Leaves living art but page to serve his witt.'

"It is not likely that these verses were composed either by a Stratfordian, or by any one acquainted with their destined position, for otherwise the writer could

hardly have spoken of Death having placed Shakspere 'within this monument'."

Shakspers was buried under the floor of the church several feet away from the bust set in the wall. The tablet for aught that appears, may have been put up fifty years or more after the bust, and the verses were written by some one who got all his notions* of William Shakespeare from reading the Folio. No contemporary of "William Shakespeare" or William Shakspers, would have eulogized the author of the plays as having had the wisdom of Nestor, the wit of Socrates, and the art of Virgil, or would have said that when that poet died nature died with him; that sort of appreciation came generations after 1623. Nor would any one in that age have said that the world mourned for either Shakespeare or Shakspers. I have before shown that the world neither mourned for the player nor poet, nor cared anything about the latter, until a long period after 1623.

As to the bust, this is doubtless how it came to be. Mortuary sculptors, time out of mind, have kept in stock an assortment of their wares.† You pay your

* The first mention of this tablet inscription was by Mr. Dowdall (Ingleby, 417) whose visit to Stratford church, and whose talk with the old sexton, I have elsewhere spoken of. This occurred on 10th April, 1693, seventy years therefore later than the date of Digges' verses. Mr. Dowdall's words are: "Just under his effigies in the wall of the chancell is this written;" and he gives in full the inscription on the tablet.

† We read in Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization" respecting the tomb-makers of ancient Egypt: "The sculptors . . . like our modern tombstone makers, kept by them a tolerable assortment of half-finished statues, from which the purchaser

money and get your choice, be it statue, or shaft, or simple slab. This bust was ready to serve for anything or anybody, a hero of the wars, a Lord Mayor, or an honest country gentleman; and the player's people caught at it. Sold to Mistress Hall by a drummer (Anglice, a bagman) probably.

No. 5, the "Chandos Portrait", the best known of all, entirely unauthenticated, and unlike any other Shaksper portrait. This is the one that figures in the Hudson Shakespeare.

Lee says of this Chandos portrait, 292: "Its pedigree suggests that it was intended to represent the poet, but numerous and conspicuous divergences from the authenticated likenesses show that it was painted from fanciful descriptions of him some years after his death."

No. 6, "The Zucharo Portrait" dismissed by Boaden as not painted from life; and not improbably did not

could choose according to his taste. . . . *When the family had made their choice, a few hours work was sufficient to transform the rough sketch into a portrait, such as it was, of the deceased they desired to commemorate, and to arrange his garment according to the latest fashion.*" By which it appears that this custom of the tomb-makers is a venerable one—say 6,000 years old. And so it happens that the Stratford bust resembles the man depicted in the Droeshout in about the same degree as the bust of the Sheik el-Beled (Maspero, 408) resembles the bust of Cheops. Indeed there is a strong family resemblance between the bust of Stratford and that of the military Sheik. For my part, I regard the bust as a fraud, and the Droeshout as a caricature, and do not believe there exists a likeness of player Shaksper. Men in his walk of life were not in the habit of having their portraits painted.

originally claim to have been intended for Shaksper at all".

No. 7, "The Jansen Portrait", unauthenticated.* "Thus it has taken an army of novelists, painters, engravers, and essayists, to erect simple William Shaksper, of Stratford, into the god he ought to have been; and according to the Shakspercans themselves, there is only one portrait of him extant, which has even the assumed advantage of having been pronounced a likeness by any one who ever saw him in his lifetime, the Droeshout picture." Morgan.

Now comes the "death-mask," so much written of in late years. A plaster cast of an unnamed face is found in a rubbish shop in Germany, in 1849—233 years after the player's death. It bears neither the name of the subject, nor of the maker, nor is there any clue to the nationality of either; but there is cut upon it the date 1616, the year Shaksper died. Who put that date there, or when it was put there, no one can tell. It may have been done fifty years ago—or one hundred—no one can say. But obviously the temptation to manufacture a death-mask of William Shaksper, who was supposed to have written the Shakespeare plays, was immense; as was

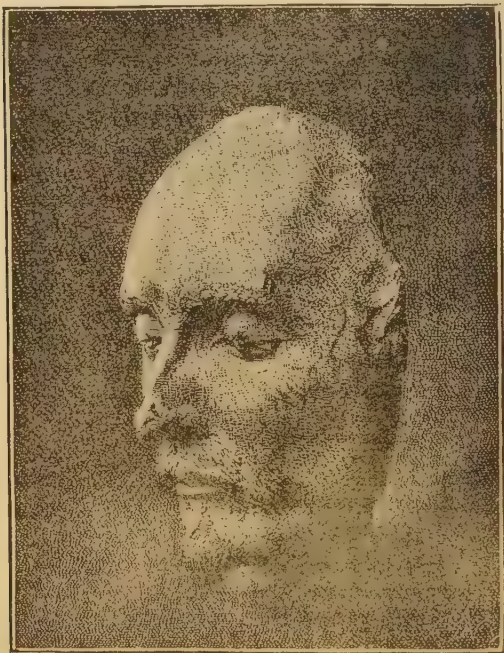
* Shaksper is not the only Englishman, it seems, who has suffered from a surplusage of likenesses. Froude says of Francis Drake: "The portraits of him vary much, as indeed it is natural they should, for most of those which pass for Drake were not meant for Drake at all. It is the fashion in this country, and a very bad fashion, when we find a remarkable portrait with no man's name attached to it, to christen it at random after some eminent man, and there it remains to perplex and mislead." Eng. Seamen, 77.

the temptation to find a book which the great man had personally handled—the Florio Montaigne. “The Shakspeareans at once adopt this anonymous mask as taken from the face of the defunct William Shaksper. Either he, at his death, was known to be an immortal bard, or he was not. If he was, how could the sole likeness moulded of departed greatness be smuggled away from the land that was pious to claim him as its most distinguished son, and nobody miss it, or raise the hue and cry? If it was not, to whose interest was it to steal the mask from the family who cared enough about the dead man’s memory to go to the expense of it?” Morgan.

The figure of this mask, given on the following page, is copied from Norris.

The upholders of the genuineness of the mask propound the theory that it was made by the “tomb-maker”, supposed, but without an iota of evidence, to have been Gerard Johnson, a man who, it seems, was living in London in 1616; and that it was used by him in modeling the Stratford bust. It needs but a glance at bust and mask to show that they represent two individuals. For example, the long, thin, prominent and curved nose of the mask would not have been represented in the bust by a short, thick, straight nose; the beetling brow of the mask would not have been represented in the bust by a brow entirely without prominence (in the Droeshout likeness there is actually an incurving there); the lofty and capacious forehead of the mask would not have been replaced in the bust by a forehead but moderately high, round and bullet shaped. In fact, these three supposed like-

nesses represent three distinct individuals, with three distinct types of faces. No wonder that Mrs. Dall says of this mask: "It is so much nobler and sweeter than



any existing likeness of him, it looks so much more as we would have liked Shaksper to have looked, that we long to have it proved." Alas! it cannot be proved, and the admirers of player Shaksper will

have to content their souls with the Droeshout likeness.

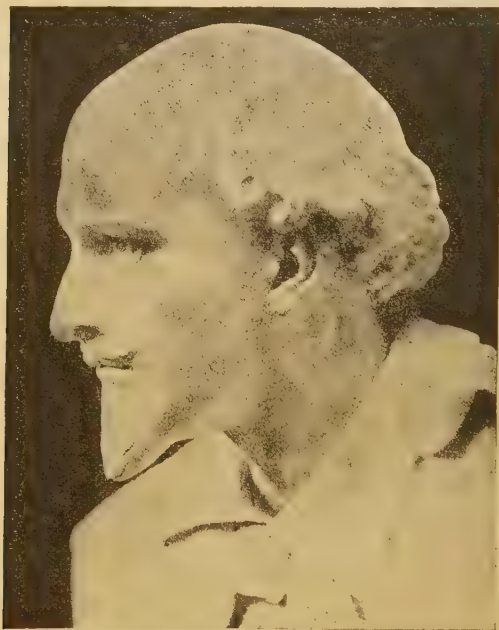
Mr. Dowden says, 42: "The authenticity of the celebrated Kesselstadt death-mask is very doubtful, but we could wish that his noble and refined face was indeed that of Shakspeare." The player was neither a noble man, nor a sweet and refined character, and why it should be expected that a genuine portrait of him should surpass the reality, I fail to see.

Of this mask, Mr. Phillipps, I, 297, thus speaks: "But in like manner as there have arisen in these days critics, who, dispensing altogether with the old contemporary evidences, can enter so perfectly into all the vicissitudes of Shakespeare's intellectual temperament that they can authoritatively identify at a glance every line that he did write, and with equal precision, every sentence that he did not;—even so there are others to whom a picture's history is not of the slightest moment, their reflective instinct enabling them, without effort or investigation, to recognize in an old curiosity shop the dramatic visage that belonged to the author of Hamlet. Lowlier votaries can only bow their heads in silence."

In an illustrated paper in "The Strand", London, 1894, by Mr. Alexander Cargill, entitled "The Likenesses of Shakspeare", is a figure of what the author calls "the best likeness" (so called on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, because it is no likeness at all); a copy of which is shown on the following page.

This face looks like that of a junior partner in a dry goods store, bent on selling a bill of sundries. It

purports to have been gotten up by Lord Ronald Gower "for the Stratford Memorial which he presented to the town of Stratford-on-Avon", and *is composed* from the bust and the death-mask spoken of.



In the dapper salesman of thirty-five of this Memorial, there is a very short upper lip (like neither the Droeshout, the bust, nor the mask), in the shape of Cupid's bow, a small pointed chin embedded in a

clipped and pointed goatee, (in the Droeshout, the chin is broad and rounded like the big end of an egg) a long, thin, arched nose, arched throughout, (and not merely with a curve in the middle, followed by a depression, as in the mask), and deep set eyes (as in the mask, but not in the Droeshout or bust). The organs of perception are copied from the mask; and the top of the head has a great development of what phrenologists call the organ of firmness and self-esteem, not discoverable in the "only authentic likeness." Being the historical man we know, the bump of acquisitiveness should have been as big as a walnut. This "best likeness" simply adds one more to the many counterfeit presentments of William Shaksper, player, manager, and money-lender.

Somehow, forgeries and counterfeits spring up in all directions about this individual; forged signatures on fly-leaves, to make him out to have been a reading man; forged letters from persons of quality, to make it appear that he was intimate with "divers of worship", (see a choice example in Dall, 143); counterfeit portraits, from the Chandos and Flower, to Rolfe's noble boy; bogus death-masks; and all with the purpose of making it appear that he was not the simpleton the Droeshout portrait depicts him to have been. Wherever we strike him, we strike imposture and fraud.

CHAPTER XXII.

A SUGGESTION.

Would it not be well for the followers of the Shaksper cult to hold a congress in order to settle upon a uniform appraisalment of the object of their veneration? One (Baynes) tells us that he (the author) was profoundly learned, by the evidence of the works themselves, and became so by the remarkable advantages of school, and good breeding, and cultivated society, he received in his youth, at Stratford. The next man (Halliwell-Phillipps, "the highest authority on the facts of William Shaksper's life"), declares all this to be a mistake, and that the player really was unlearned, had no school advantages, nor access to polite society in his youth; indeed, that all his associations at Stratford were low and vulgar; but that he must have gained a smattering of knowledge somehow, after he came to London, and there developed into "the bard of our admiration".

Mr. Fleay tells us these plays could never have been written without much solitude, much suffering, and much concentration. Halliwell-Phillipps intimates that in his opinion they were written "without effort, by inspiration, not by design"; and, what would seem incompatible with a divine origin, that they were "written, first for a living, and then for affluence, with the sole aim of pleasing an audience, most of whom were not only illiterate, but unable to either

read or write." Dr. Ingleby says that "the drift of his plays was apparently intelligible to the penny-knaves of the theater, else they would not have been played, but that his profound reach of thought and his unrivaled knowledge of human nature were as far beyond the vulgar ken as the higher graces of his poetry;" and that "we are at length slowly rounding to a just estimate of his works." On the other hand, Richard Grant White, and John Fiske, assert that the plays were dashed off merely to fill the theater and the player's pockets.

The lamented Lowell says: "Whatever we have gathered of thought, of knowledge, and of experience, compared with his (Shakespeare's) marvelous page, shrinks to a mere foot-note." His successor in the lecturer's chair, Wendell, on the contrary, tells us that "nothing more surprises such readers of Shakespeare as are not practical men of letters than the man's apparent learning;" and that "his learning is no longer a marvel, except to those who insist on finding it so."

Point out that Mr. Ruggles has demonstrated that the author was in close touch with Bacon, whose philosophy underlies each and all of the plays; and one of the self-constituted custodians of player Shaksper's literary reputation replies that he allows both the learning and philosophy, but "if there were any indebtedness it was not on the side of Shakespeare; that Bacon must have had time to be a spectator of the plays . . . and have drawn from them many of the thoughts which helped to perfect his system;" and, anyhow, Shakespeare (author and player) "knew

more than Bacon of the actual objects of scientific investigation, of men, of animals, and plants, and of the universe as a whole." Verily, the book reviewer of the New York Tribune said this in the issue of April 26, 1895.

Very probable indeed, that Francis Bacon, "the high-priest of Nature", the man "whose claim to undisputed empire over men's thoughts has been ratified by the concurrent testimony of ages and nations"—the man who wrote at thirty-one, "I have taken all knowledge to be my province"—of whom Macaulay says, "He, without effort, takes in at once all the domains of science—all the past, the present and the future;" moreover, one of the most eloquent speakers, and most learned lawyers of his age, and, later, Lord Chancellor of England—was in the habit of passing his afternoons at a public theater, in order to draw from the interludes played there "the thoughts which helped to perfect his system"! Was he one of the penny groundlings, or was he permitted to enjoy a stool on the stage—the ample and luxurious stage, as it appears in De Witt's picture—among the men of rank and fashion, whose lackeys "supply them with pipes of tobacco", who "play cards and insult the pit", and whose nostrils are offended with the pervading stench that ascend from the rabble, till the cry arises, "burn the juniper"; or had he a share of a bench in the galleries among the pimps and prostitutes, and the masked ladies?

I imagine the grave and dignified Francis Bacon, as I can imagine William Gladstone, watching for the gobbets of wisdom as they tumbled from the mouths

of carpenter Burbage, butcher Shaksper, and grocer Heminge. "Anyhow, Shakespeare" (supposed to be that butcher) "knew more than Bacon of the actual objects of scientific investigation, of men, of animals and plants, and of the universe as a whole." What an amazing man Shaksper must have been in the view of our critic! What was he a hireling at that theater for—that theater, "the centre of organized vice," the "antechamber to the neighboring brothels," making mouths at, and prancing to, the groundlings of the pit? Why was he not in his proper place, enthroned, surrounded by the poets, scholars, and philosophers of England? That won't do; like to like; learned men seek learned men, triflers seek triflers.*

* This remarkable charge that Bacon borrowed from Shakespeare is not original with the Tribune critic. Massey, in his book on the Sonnets, runs through several pages in this fashion: "Personally, I have sometimes thought there was something conscious, not to say sinister, in the silence of Bacon respecting Shakespeare, whom he must have known as the *friend of Southampton, the friend of Essex, the friend of Bacon*. . . . As Spedding points out, *Bacon had a regular system of taking notes, and of intentionally altering the things that he quoted*. . . . This opens a vast vista of responsibility in his covert mode of assimilating the thoughts, purloining the gold, and clipping the coinage of Shakespeare. . . . Bacon, as a frequenter of the theater with Essex and Southampton and other of the 'private friends' who are described as spending their time in seeing plays, must have appreciated the presence of that genius which had arisen to enrich the stage with Love's Labour's Lost. . . . It has often been a matter of surprise that Bacon should not have recognized Shakespeare or his work. But now we know that he did. . . . As we have seen it was his practice to make notes at the theater, or to jot down from

He (author) was learned; he (player) was unlearned; he (author) had the most original mind in the universe; he (player) was a mere smatterer, a picker-up of other men's good things. He (author) was of transcendent genius, inspired; he (player) had the misfortune to live outside of Harvard, and "his learning is no longer a marvel" to some of us who know what's what, It used to be a marvel in Lowell's time, but we now are wiser than he was, by many degrees.

memory the remarkable things *that arrested his attention there*. His Promus is the record of much that he took directly from Shakespeare. For eight or ten years he had free play and full pasturage in Shakespeare's field before he published his first ten essays. . . . It is this borrowing from Shakespeare BY Bacon that has given so much trouble and labor in vain to the Baconians. . . . The simple solution is *that Bacon was the unsuspected thief*, who has been accredited with the original ownership of the property purloined by Shakespeare. . . . A vast deal of Shakespeare's thought must have gone *into Bacon's sweating-bag or melting-pot*, which is not to be recovered or recognized by any familiar features or quotation marks."

I hope Mr. Massey rested more comfortably after having discharged all this bilious matter—*foedissima ventris proluviis*.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SUMMING UP.

I undertook to show that the player, William Shaksper, could not possibly have been the author of the poems and plays which issued under the name of William Shakespeare, and, if the facts I have cited here are true, and the highest Shaksperian authorities assert them to be true, I have proved my case.

It was impossible that such a man, as the author of these works must have been, by the evidence of the works themselves, could have sprung from a race who, in all their generations, had been ignorant and illiterate, or could have lived in a bookless neighborhood till his majority, without one elevating influence, and afterwards attained even respectability as an author or man of learning.

It was impossible that a youth so born and bred should, in two to five years, or any number of years, in the low and vagabond profession he drifted into, have acquired the learning, or the language, or the experience, necessary for writing such poems as *Venus and Adonis*, or any one of the Shakespeare plays; that, under these disadvantages, he should have written two score plays in rapid succession—of the entire series, the first discovering as much learning, familiarity with ancient and modern languages, acquaintance with the world, as the last. Plainly, he was a thoroughly equipped man when he wrote his first play.

It was impossible that such a youth, in two to seven, or any number of years, leading the kind of life he did, and coming to London equipped with nothing but the patois of Warwickshire, should have acquired a vocabulary estimated at from 15,000 to 21,000 words; or that, under the same conditions, he should have "amalgamated and consubstantiated" the Latin language with his native thought.

It was impossible that, under the same conditions, he should have acquired Italian, Spanish and French; that he should have become learned in all the known sciences, in all philosophy, in law and in medicine.

It was impossible, being the son of John Shaksper, and reared as he was, that he could have grown up with any knowledge of the English Bible; or that, being the man he was, he should have gained a knowledge of it after he came to London—and, in fact, amalgamated the language of the Bible with his native thought.

It was impossible that a youth so born and nurtured could have conceived the female characters of these plays; that he could have had any knowledge of courts, the language and behavior of kings and queens, of ladies, or of cultivated people.

It was impossible that the author of these works, if he lived, and studied, and wrote, and at the same time was a player at, and manager of, a theater in London, a city of scarcely more than half the population that Washington has to-day, could have been unknown to other literary men of the time; that in an age of diaries, and correspondence, and pamphlets, vast stores of which have been preserved, and are accessible to

students, and which abound in the gossip of the day, in anecdotes and allusions to every man of eminence in every department; that in the papers and letters of the great families where the player was "petted and courted," according to his modern worshipers,—Southampton, Rutland, Essex, Montgomery, or of Raleigh, Cecil, Coke, Tobie Mathew, and multitudes of other letter writers then living,—there should not be one mention of him. "He was unknown to the men of that age," not merely to those enumerated, but to "any other of less note among the statesmen, scholars and artists, except the few of his fellow-craftsmen." So Ingleby and Richard Grant White declare, and they state the fact.

It was impossible that the author of these works should have returned to his native place, lived there and died there, and left no tradition or testimony as to his literary labors; that he should have left no library—not even a book-case or a writing desk—no books, no manuscripts, no writings of any description; that his last Will, a Will "of great particularity," the Will of a man who valued property, should have no mention of what possessed a large money value, namely, books, and the manuscripts of the plays in question, if he really possessed them.

It was impossible that a man of such amazing erudition should not have valued knowledge and learning, and should have been wholly indifferent to the education of his children.

It is impossible that such learning, such vast accomplishments, should have been domiciled at Stratford, and no memory of it reach the next generation. His

sister, Joan Hart, lived for thirty years after his death, or to 1646; his daughters Susanna and Judith until 1649 and 1662; his grand-daughter, Lady Barnard, until 1670; hundreds of persons who had known him personally, or whose fathers had known him, were living in the last part of the century, when literary England had become alive to the importance of preserving every item respecting so illustrious a man; and yet the result of all investigation was, "we never knew or heard anything of William Shaksper except as a poor boy who lived in this town, ran away, came back a rich man, and bought New Place. Concerning plays or writings of any sort, we know nothing."

As to the kind of man the player was, I look upon him as a hard, griping, conscienceless, remorseless man, piling up his ducats, devoted to that alone—"A tyger's heart wrapped in a player's hyde." Certainly I would as lief have had Shylock for my creditor as William Shaksper. *Ratsie's Ghost*, published in 1605, gives some parting advice to a young player, telling him to go to London, "where he would learn to be frugal and thrifty; to feed upon all men, but let none feed on him; make his hand a stranger to his pocket; his heart slow to perform his tongue's promise; and when he felt his purse well lined, to buy some piece of lordship in the country; that, growing weary of playing, his money may bring him to dignity and reputation; that he need not care for no man—no, not for them that before made him proud with speaking their words

on the stage." (Their words, not his own, be it noted.)

This is one of the few mentions, before spoken of, by the player's contemporaries, testifying to him as a man, and accepted by all the commentators as unquestionably referring to Shaksper.

On the player's retirement to Stratford, he continued his business of loaning money, prosecuting his debtors even unto prison, (his neighbors, always poor men). Richard Grant White, though his ardent worshiper, is compelled to cry out: "The pursuit of an impoverished man for the sake of imprisoning him, and depriving him both of the power of paying his debts and supporting himself and family, is an incident in Shakspeare's life which it requires the utmost allowance and consideration for the practice of the time and country to enable us to contemplate with equanimity—satisfaction is impossible."

Evidently, some of the player's acquaintances did not regard him as the "gentle Shakespeare", as Ben Jonson satirically characterized him.

The failure to educate his children is evidence of penuriousness as well as of paternal negligence; his failure to assist his father, and his utter neglect of his wife is further evidence of penuriousness; so also is his charging the corporation of Stratford with the cost of two quarts of wine furnished to a preacher at his own house.

The Shakspearean biographers tell us that these plays were not written for the love of singing, but for money, to fill his pockets and to get on in the world. Mrs. Dall says he sang like a bird, because he could

not help singing. He lisped in numbers, for the numbers came. Not at all: "At the expense of investing him with a sordid disposition", as Dr. Ingleby puts it, he sang for pelf alone; that is, of course, if he were the author of the plays, which I deny.

To sum up, in the words of one who has weighed his character well, William Shaksper was a drunkard, a poacher, a liar, litigious, an oppressor of the poor, an unfaithful husband, an adulterer, and a negligent father. There is not recorded of him one noble action.

The pen-picture of one of Sir Walter Besant's characters agrees exactly with my idea of player and manager Shaksper: "He looked the kind of man who feels really happy when he sits in a bar parlor with a glass of something hot, and a few congenial companions; one of those who laugh like ten men over the choice quips and delicate stories and deftly turned epigrams with which the evening would be enlivened; one who would be popular with these tavern friends; and whose popularity would be in no way lessened by the knowledge that he spent his business hours in overreaching his clients, besting his friends, grinding the noses of the poor, and exacting the letter of his bond." Behold the man!

This man came to London with no polished accomplishments—"almost destitute of them", according to Halliwell-Phillipps. He never learned to write, and no one can say with knowledge that he ever learned to read, for there is not the least evidence that he ever went to school or received instruction; and no one has recorded having ever seen him with a book in his

hand. He died with as few polished accomplishments as he had when he entered London, without a book or a paper, with plenty of money and nothing else, unlamented by any one and known to nobody.

That is the sort of man William Shaksper, player and money-lender, was.

“Knew you ever a scholar whose soul had utterly escaped the softening influence of thought and study?”

Who, then, did write the “Shakespeare” plays?

It has been the habit of the Shakspeareans to scout, and rage at, the suggestion that Francis Bacon, or his brother Anthony, had a hand in them, on the ground that these men had not the poetical faculty, nor the technical skill to compose plays; though, without one scrap of evidence, they assure us that William Shaksper had an excess of both technical skill and poetical faculty. Knowing nothing about him, they claim everything for him.

And yet the critical Dr. Brandes tells us that “the characteristic of the period was the immense rush of productivity in the direction of dramatic art. Every Englishman of Elizabeth’s time could write a tolerably good play, just as every second Greek in the age of Pericles could model a tolerably good statue, or, as every European of to-day can write a passable newspaper article.”

Then, as if to give poor Francis Bacon a chance, Professor Wendell discovers that the world has all along been under a mistake as to the power and significance of these plays; that, given the habit of

writing, and a certain trick of expression, and a few compendiums and Elizabethan histories, and Coke upon Littleton, the plays are not so remarkable as the uninitiated have thought. Moreover, to show how very easy it must have been in Elizabeth's time to compose a Shakespeare play, the Professor has tried his own hand, and enriched the language with "Raleigh in Guiana." It would seem then to humbler individuals that possibly either one of the writers named, and some score others, might have worked on the Shakespeare plays without violence to probability. I would suggest that searchlights be turned on the judicious Hooker, or the worthy Donne, or the learned Coke, or Tobie Matthew, or Lord Burleigh himself. One and all apparently had the habit of writing and the trick of expression.

Or, if these names are not satisfactory, give a thought to the many acknowledged play-writers of that age, university men, who wrote singly, or in collaboration—Daniel, Marlowe, Greene, and the rest. Look for peculiarities in the vocabularies of the recognized works of these authors; words, lines, or sentences, identical with anything in the Shakespeare plays; traces of thought akin to what is found in these plays. For Hamlet, and some of the greatest, I would suggest that a writer possessing the requirements of Professor Wendell be looked for; one who had access to a "library of compendiums and histories"; one who had some knowledge of Coke on Littleton; but above all, one with "a concrete habit of thought and phrase," whatever that may mean. Or, a writer possessing the requirements of Ruggles, one

"thoroughly familiar with the Baconian Philosophy"; one "who was a philosopher first and then a poet;" one of "bold innovating genius;" one who "obtained his conceptions by study and meditation." When found, make a note of. Or a writer possessing the requirements of Mr. Fleay; one "accustomed to solitude;" one "who had suffered much;" one "capable of great concentration"; sure signs of the real author, Mr. Fleay asserts. It is possible that such writers may be found, if sought for; and when found, it will be seen that they are natural and sensible men, not inspired dunces. For myself, I prefer the myriad-minded Shakespeare of Coleridge and John Owens to the Shaksper of Halliwell-Phillipps, and Ingleby, and Wendell; "the profound, original thinker and reasoner;" the man who had "acquired his intimate knowledge of the Hamletic type of intellect from introspection", to anything in the line of money-grubber, beer-guzzler, variety-show clown and manager, who spent twenty-five years of his life in catering to the rabble of London.

ERRATA.

"Kasselstadt" for "Kesselstadt," List of Illustrations.

"pfece" for "piece," page 6, seventh line from top.

"Woodberry" for "Woodbury," page 10, ninth line from top.

Same. page 399, twelfth line from bottom.

"1859" for "1589," page 65, seventeenth line from top.

"pantomine" for "pantomime," page 76, fourth line from top.

"ot" for "of," page 87, third line from bottom.

"Shakes-speare" for "Shakespeare," page 93, first line from top.

"Chamberlain" for "Chamberlain's," page 108, third line from bottom.

"ran-away" for "run-away," page 118, ninth line from bottom.

The comma at end of sixth line from top (after "us"), page 123, should be a period.

"sponser" for "sponsor," page 327, sixteenth line from top.

Strike out the comma after "neighbors," page 426, seventeenth line from top.

Put quotation marks before the word "been," page 443, first line from top.

INDEX.

- Acherly, Thomas, allusion, 278.
 Actors were individual wanderers, 50, 51.
 Archer, William, on the play of Edward III, 58.
 Arden, Robert, inventory of goods, 13.
 Arden, Mary, her life in girlhood, 13.
 Authors, life—style of, 69.
 Bacon, Dr. Leonard, on the social station of the planters of New England, 18.
 Bacon, Francis, ignorance of Shakespeare, 287.
 Baker, Sir Richard, mention of player Shaksper, 292.
 Barnfeild, Richard, mention of Shakespeare, 271.
 Barnfeild, Richard, speaks of Shakespeare as poet, but not as play-writer, 325.
 Basse, William, lines on William Shakespeare, 292.
 Baynes, Dr., on Shakespeare's use of certain words, 203.
 Baynes, Dr., on the imagined curriculum at Stratford school, 429.
 Baynes, Dr., on Venus and Adonis and its motto from Ovid, 78.
 Baynes, Dr., on Venus and Adonis and Lucrece, all thoroughly Ovidian, 86.
 Baynes, Dr., on William Shakespeare's proficiency in the classics, 441.
 Bell, Sir Charles, on the medical knowledge of the Shakespeare plays, 225.
 Blackfriars Theater, 101.
 Blackfriars Theater, no proof that W. Shaksper ever acted at, 101.
 Bodenham, John, mention of Shakespeare, 262.
 Bolton, Edmund, cites Shakespeare, 280.
 Bolton, Edmund, enumerates poets, 322.
 Books, absence of, at Stratford, 21.
 Books, cumbrous and costly in Shakespeare's day, 214.
 Boston Public Library version of the three will signatures, 396.
 Boy of Stratford, cut, 26.
 Brandes, Dr. George, evidence that the author of the Shakespeare plays had traveled on the continent, 238.
 Brandes, Dr. George, on the rush of productivity in the direction of dramatic art in Elizabeth's time, 497.
 Brandes, Dr. George, on William Shakespeare's familiarity with high life, 246.
 Brown, David Paul, on the knowledge of medical jurisprudence shown in the plays, 226.
 Bucknill, J. C., M.D., on the medical knowledge of the Shakespeare plays, 224.
 Bunyan, John, his early education, 44.
 Burns, Robert, his early education, 43, 44.
 Burr, Wm. H., proof that Shaksper could not write, 408.
 Burritt, Elihu, his early education, 46.
 Burton, Robert, introducing his pseudo likeness, 319.
 Byington, Dr., on the Puritans who came to Massachusetts, 18.
 Camden, William, enumerates poets, 323.
 Campbell, Lord Chief Justice, on the legal language used in the plays, 221.
 Campbell, Lord Chief Justice, opinion of the justices' courts at Stratford, 220.
 Carew, Richard, mentions Shakespeare, 74.
 Carew, Richard, praise of Sidney, 321.
 Carlyle, Thomas, on early culture, 42.
 Centurie of Prayse, The, 3, 259.
 "Chaffed the Players,"—an example, 103.
 Chamberlain's Company, travels through England, 135, 136.
 Chamberlain, John, absence of mention of Shaksper in correspondence, 414.
 Chettle, Henry, author of "Kind Heart's Dream," 276; his apology for Robert Green, 276.
 Clark, Mrs. Cowden, on the language of Shakespeare, 210.
 Clark, Prof. N. G., on the language of Shakespeare, 210.
 Coleridge, Hartley, on the classical allusions of Shakespeare, 199.
 Coleridge, Samuel T., Shakespeare as a philosopher, 226.

- Collier, J. P., his dishonesty exposed, 132.
- Collier, J. P., on the Elizabethan theaters, 98.
- Collier, on the publication of the *Pas-sionate Pilgrim*, 73.
- Corbin, John, on Jonson's lines, introducing the Droeshout likeness, 318.
- Corbin, John, on the Flower portrait, 479.
- Craik, Prof. George L., on the language of Shakespeare, 210.
- Craik, G. L., on popular education in the reign of Elizabeth, 447.
- Craik, on the Prefatory Address to the Folio, 351, 357.
- Craik, on the universality of Shakespeare, 211.
- Crosse, probable reference to William Shaksper, 289.
- Cunningham, P., his forgeries, 130, 133, 134.
- Dall, Mrs., conviction that Shaksper spent some years on the continent, 238.
- Dall, Mrs. Caroline, on Chettle's words, 277.
- Dall, Mrs., on Shaksper's distinguished friends, 417.
- Dall, Mrs., on William Shaksper's social station, 18.
- Davies, John, of Hereford, allusions to player Shaksper, 268.
- Davies, John, possible allusions to same, 269, 270.
- Demonstration, the, 1.
- Description of the horse in *Venus and Adonis* borrowed from Du Bartas, 85.
- Desk, at Stratford, shown as William Shaksper's, 30.
- Dickens, Charles, on the life of Shaksper, 264.
- Digges, Leonard, on plays at the Globe Theater, 136.
- Digges, Leonard, prefatory lines, 360.
- Digges, Leonard, on *Romeo and Juliet*, 162.
- Disraeli, Benj., on certain practises of the booksellers, 318.
- Disraeli, Benj., on the Prefatory Address to the Folio, 353.
- Donnelly, I., on Shaksper's Will, 382.
- Donnelly, Ignatius, on the gulf between the quality and the common people in Shaksper's time, 79.
- Donnelly, I., on the Shakespeare vocabulary, 197.
- Doran, Dr., on the versions of the Shakespeare plays after the Restoration, 333.
- Dowdall, Rev. Mr., result of his inquiries at Stratford, 423.
- Dowden, Edward, LL.D., on the Elizabethan theater, 97.
- Dowden, Dr., on the Prefatory Address to the Folio, 356.
- Drake, Dr. Nathan, on paucity of allusions to vicinity of Stratford in the plays, 432.
- Drake, on the rights of author and owner of a play, 76.
- Drake, on the exhibitions at the theaters, 119.
- Drake, on the scrivener signing the first sheet of a will, 404.
- Drummond, William, his character of Ben Jonson, 348.
- Drummond, William, notes on Jonson's remarks on Shakespeare, 340.
- Dryden, John, on the Shakespeare plays, 329.
- Dumb-shows popular towards 1587, 100, 161.
- Emerson, R.W., on the genius of Shakespeare, 227.
- Emerson, R. W., on the language of Shakespeare, 210.
- Evelyn, John, on certain Shakespeare plays, 328.
- Field, Dr., on the medical knowledge of the Shakespeare plays, 225.
- Fiske, John, denies the book learning of Shakespeare, 212.
- Fiske, John, estimation of the legal knowledge of the Shakespeare plays, 221.
- Fleay, F. G., on Jonson's lines prefixed to the First Folio, 306.
- Fleay, Shaksper unmentioned by contemporaries, 415.
- Fleay, on Shaksper's will, 381.
- Fleay, on the absence of allusions to Shakespeare, 286.
- Fleay, on the Elizabethan theaters, 98, 99.
- Fleay, on the superiority of the second quarto of *Hamlet* to the Folio copy, 78.
- Fleay, the origin of the play houses and playing companies, 99.
- Forged signature in Florio Montaigne, 411.
- Forman, Dr. Simon, account of performance of *Cymbeline*, 159.
- Forman, account of performance of *Macbeth*, 156.
- Forman, account of performance of *The Winter's Tale*, 159.
- Forman, his account of the performing of three Shakespeare plays, 153.
- Freeman, Thomas, lines on Shakespeare, 281.
- Free school, at Stratford, supposed system of instruction, 20.

- Free school at Stratford, the annual charge for, 22.
- Fuller, on the imaginary wit-combats, etc., 361.
- Furnivall, Dr. J. C., Fresh allusions to Shakespeare, 261.
- Furnivall, on Gervinus' studies of Shakespeare, 226.
- Galton, Dr. Francis, on heredity, 41.
- Globe Theater, built in 1599, 107.
- Goadby, Dr., on the instruction of the common people in Shaksp^r's day, 445.
- Goethe, on Shakespeare as a writer and psychologist, 230.
- Gollancz, Israel, on Othello, 134.
- Gollancz, Israel, on the Lear of Shakespeare, 149.
- Gollancz, on the Quarto of Romeo and Juliet, 77.
- Gosson, on the London theaters, 112.
- Green, J. R., on the last dramas of Shakespeare, 375.
- Greene, on Shakespeare's proficiency in the science of Heraldry, 235.
- Greene, Robert, complaint against an upstart-crow, etc.—Phillips and Ingleby thereon, 54, 55.
- Greene, Robert, lines believed to have been aimed at player Shaksp^r, 297.
- Greene, Robert, on the upstart-crow, 273.
- Greene, Robert, his Groatsworth of Wit, 275.
- Greenwich Fair, play at, 142.
- Grosart, Alexander B., his opinion of Shaksp^r, 297.
- Guilpin, Edward, among poets omits to name Shakespeare, 324.
- Hall, Dr., mentions death of Shaksp^r in his note-book, 424.
- Hallam, on Shakespeare phrases, 201.
- Halliwell-Phillips, as to how the Shakespeare plays came to be written, 231.
- Halliwell-Phillips, on Shaksp^r's condition when he made his will, 380.
- Halliwell-Phillips, on Shaksp^r's will, 383.
- Halliwell-Phillips, on the popularity of 1st Henry VI, 161; of Romeo and Juliet, 162.
- Halliwell-Phillips, the Elizabethan theater, 96.
- Halliwell-Phillips, on the theaters, 111, 112.
- Halliwell-Phillips, Outlines, 2.
- Hall's Chronicle not in John Shaksp^r's house, 21.
- Hamilton, Alexander, on genius, 460.
- Hamlet, on the capacity of the groundlings, 125.
- Hamlet, ridicule of the style of playing in vogue, 126.
- Hamlet, the play of, exists in three forms, 145.
- Hathaway, Ann, her cottage; Richard Grant White on same, 17.
- Hazlitt, William, on Love's Labour's Lost, 63.
- Heard, F. F., on Shakespeare as a lawyer, 223.
- Heine, on the historical value of the Shakespeare plays, 234.
- Heminge and Condell, 350.
- Henslowe's Diary; the prices paid for new plays, 181.
- Henslowe, Philip, description of, 120.
- Henslowe, diary of, 71.
- Heywood, Thomas, mention of Shaksp^r, 288.
- Heywood, Thomas, reference to the author of the Shakespeare plays, 270.
- Holmes, Judge, on the Sonnets, 372.
- Holmes, Judge, on Shakespeare's use of certain words, 202.
- Holmes, Dr. O. W., on a child's training, 41.
- Hume, David, on William Shakespeare, 332.
- Ingleby, Dr. C. J., on absence of allusions to Shakespeare, ignorance of contemporaries as to Shakespeare, 282.
- Ingleby, on the estimation of the plays of Shakespeare, 146.
- Ingleby, on the prefatory address to the Folio, 352, 353, 356.
- Ingleby, on the social standing of players, 81.
- Impertinence, on the, of the assumption that William Shaksp^r conceived the female characters of the plays, 244.
- Jaggard, William, publishes The Pastonate Pilgrim as Shakespeare's, 72.
- Johnson, Judge Jesse, on the Sonnets, 366.
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel, criticism on the Shakespeare plays, 331.
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel, on the condition of the lower classes, 12, 22.
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel, on the condition of the common people in Shakespeare's day, 153.
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel, on the number of copies of the first two Folio editions of the plays, 334.
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel, on William Shaksp^r's first employments in London, 50.
- Jonson's Bartholomew Fair; how classical plays were travestied, 122.

- Jonson, Ben, apostrophe to player Shaksper, 336.
- Jonson, Ben, does not speak of "Shakespeare" in his Discoveries, 346.
- Jonson, Ben, his insincerity, 339.
- Jonson, Ben, his lines eulogizing the art of Shakespeare, 341.
- Jonson, Ben, his praises of Francis Bacon, 345.
- Jonson, Ben, his ridicule of plays of Shakespeare, 327.
- Jonson, Ben, his "Timber, or Discoveries, 344.
- Jonson, Ben, lines introducing the portrait in the First Folio, 317.
- Jonson, Ben, lines on Poet-Ape believed to be aimed at Player Shaksper, 295.
- Jonson, Ben, lines prefixed to the First Folio, 304.
- Jonson, Ben, mention of player Shaksper, 346.
- Jonson's Poetaster, attack on the King's Company, 116.
- Kempe, or Kemp, William, cut of, 60.
- King Henry VI, the work of Marlowe; also the Richard III and other plays, 56, 57.
- Knight, Charles, his life of Shakespeare, 19.
- Knight, Charles, on Shakespeare's use of certain words, 202.
- Knight, Charles, on the "corrections, etc., of the Second Quarto of Romeo and Juliet, 77.
- Knight, Charles, on Romeo and Juliet, 140.
- Knight, Charles, on the Roman plays of Shakespeare, 120, 199.
- Knight, Charles, on the Quartos, 358.
- Knight, Charles, on Troilus and Cressida, 149.
- Lamb, Charles, on the Tragedies of Shakespeare, 147.
- Lee, Sidney, accounts for the learning in the law of the Shakespeare plays, 219.
- Lee, Sidney, his copy of the three Will signatures, 400.
- Lee, Sidney, on Love's Labour's Lost, 63.
- Lee, Sidney, on Shaksper's Will, 381.
- Lee, Sidney, on the publication of the 16 Quartos, 72.
- Lee, Sidney, on William Shaksper's indifference to piracy of the Shakespeare plays, 77.
- Legal papers, latitude allowed in executing, 403.
- Libraries, no public libraries in Shakespeare's day; private, very rare, 214.
- Lincoln, Abraham, his early education, 45.
- Lodge, Thomas, among poets omits to name Shakespeare, 324.
- Lord Mayor to Privy Council, on the London theaters, 111.
- Lord Strange's Company, 108.
- Love's Labour's Lost, the first of the Shakespeare plays performed, 62.
- Macaulay, Thomas B., on books in Shakespeare's day, on the use of Latin in the 16th century, 215.
- Madden, Judge, on Shakespeare's accuracy in the use of the language of Falconry, 235.
- Malone, Edmund, his fac-simile of the three Will signatures, 394.
- The same, enlarged, 395.
- Letters of, much enlarged, 398.
- Malone, Edmund, investigations as to William Shaksper, 90.
- Malone, Edmund, on Shaksper's Will, 382.
- Malone, Edmund, on the forged Ireland letters, 79.
- Malone, Edmund, on the Walker deed and mortgage, 386.
- Manningham, John, account of the performance of Twelfth Night, 153, 154.
- Manningham, John, relates gossip concerning Shaksper, 266.
- Marlowe, Christopher, his contributions to the Shakespeare plays, 59.
- Marsh, George P., on the language of Shakespeare, 211.
- Marsh, George P., on the vocabulary of the Shakespeare works, 196.
- Mary's letter from California, 349.
- Massey, Gerald, on Francis Bacon's obligation to Shakespeare, 489.
- Massey, Gerald, on the Sonnets, 368.
- Meiklejohn, Prof. J. M. D., on the language of Shakespeare, 211.
- Meiklejohn, Prof., on the varied knowledge of the author of the Shakespeare plays, 243.
- Meres, Francis, attributes twelve plays to Shakespeare, 74.
- Meres, Francis, enumerates poets, 321.
- Meres, Francis, mentions of Shakespeare, 279, 280.
- Mermaid, The, Shaksper not a member of that club, 362.
- Milton, John, an Epitaph, 299.
- Milton, John, lines on L'Allegro, 300.
- Milton, John, his early education, 41.
- Montague, Mrs., on Shakespeare as a moral philosopher, 217.
- Morgan, Dr. A., on instruction of children in Wm. Shaksper's time, 23.
- Morgan, Dr., on the Stationer's Company, and the rights of printers, 353.
- Morgan, Dr., on Venus and Adonis; absence of Warwickshire patois in same, 83.

- Naylor, Edward W., on Shakespeare's acquaintance with music, 235.
- O'Connor, W. D., on the Sonnets, 369.
- Othello, based on Cinthio's novel, 311.
- Owens, John, on Hamlet, 231-233.
- Pepys, Samuel, on Shakespeare plays, 328.
- Percy, Dean, on certain practices of the booksellers' 319.
- Performances at Court, 166, 168.
- Players, status of in reign of Elizabeth, 80.
- Plays first printed in the Folio, 310.
- Plays bearing the same name as certain Shakespeare plays, 128-130.
- Plays, in the last half of the sixteenth century, were generally written in collaboration, 70.
- Plays not now attributed to Shakespeare, 72.
- Pott, Mrs. Constance, on Shakespeare's lack of description of country scenes, 436.
- Proposition, The, 1.
- Quiney, Adrian, letter to Shaksper, 177.
- Quiney, Richard, letter to William Shaksper, 11, 17.
- Rankins on the Theatre and the Curtain, 112.
- Ratsies' Ghost; advice to a player, 50, 268.
- Reed, Edwin, on the Prefatory Address of the Folio, 352.
- References or allusions to William Shaksper, 259.
- Returne from Parnassus, lines believed to refer to player Shaksper, 295.
- Returne from Parnassus, mentions Mr. Shakespeare, 262.
- Returne from Parnassus, speaks of Shakespeare as poet. but not as playwright, 325.
- Rogers, Prof. Thorold, on the lack of education in Shaksper's day, 446.
- Rolfe, Dr. W. J. Shakspeare, the boy, in Youth's Companion, 24.
- Rolfe, Book of same name, 26.
- Rowe, Nicholas, 1709, notes on William Shaksper, 88.
- Ruggles, Henry J., on the familiarity of the author of the Shakespeare Plays with Bacon's philosophy, 227-229.
- Ruggles, Henry J., on the language of Shakespeare, 211.
- Rymer, Thomas, on the Shakespeare Plays, 330.
- Sala, Geo. A., Conviction that the writer of the Shakespeare Plays had traveled in Italy, 238.
- Schlegel on Shakespeare, 226.
- Schoolmasters of Shaksper's day, 447.
- Sidney, Sir Philip, held in special veneration as a poet, 326.
- Sidney, Sir Philip, on the state of the drama in his time, 95.
- Signet ring marked W. S. shown at Stratford, 31.
- Shakespeare as a physicist and natural philosopher, 235.
- Shakespeare Plays, enlarged, etc., for the Folio, 311.
- Shakespeare Plays after the Restoration, 168, 169.
- Shakespeare Plays, few mentions of them in contemporary literature, 284.
- Shakespeare Plays, seventeen had been performed and seven printed anonymously up to 1598—list of the latter, 69.
- Shakespeare Plays, shortened for performing, 141.
- Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements, by Lord Campbell, 221.
- Shakespeare the name of a band or club of authors, 72.
- Shakespeare, William, evidences that he had traveled extensively, 237.
- Shakespeare, William, his familiarity with courts, etc., 244.
- Shakespeare, William, his knowledge of French, Italian, Spanish, 243.
- Shakespeare, William, ignorance of contemporaries respecting, 335.
- Shakespeare, William, the name used on plays by many authors, 115.
- Shaksper, John, application for coat-armour, 186-188.
- Shaksper, John and Mary, absolutely illiterate, 12.
- Shaksper, John, butcher, after his marriage, 12, 33.
- Shaksper, John, fills several offices, 29.
- Shaksper, John, litigious, 30.
- Shaksper has no goods that could be dis-trained, 30.
- Shaksper, John, in prison for debt, 30.
- Shaksper, John, fined for having amassed a *sterquinarium* before his house, 15.
- Shaksper's, John, house at Stratford, 16.
- Shaksper, John, secretly attached to the Catholic religion, 115.
- Shaksper, John, tenant of Robert Arden, 62.
- Shaksper, John, marries Mary, Robert's daughter, 62.
- Shaksper, John, though unable to write, made up the accounts of the borough, 23.
- Shaksper, John, made his signature with a mark, 23.

- Shaksper, variations of the name, 7-11.
 Shaksper, William, as a business man, 177-179.
 Shaksper, William, attempts at enclosure of the common land, 190.
 Shaksper, William, as a player, 174.
 Shaksper, William, buys a lot from Henry Walker, 385.
 Shaksper, William, executes a mortgage deed on same, 385.
 Shaksper, William, apprenticed to a butcher; account of the old Stratford parish clerk, 34.
 Shaksper, William, died a papist, according to Vicar Davis, 115.
 Shaksper, William, did not go to London with histrionic intentions, 49.
 Shaksper, William, discovered as a rising actor and dramatist, according to Philipps, in 1592, 53.
 Shaksper, William, doggerel verses on John-a-Combe, 53.
 Shaksper, William, Drake's version of his five signatures, 392.
 Shaksper, William, Dr. Rolfe on marriage of, 37.
 Shaksper, William, evidence of penuriousness, 180.
 Shaksper, William, exercised his father's trade of butcher, according to Aubrey, 33.
 Shaksper, William, gaining a knowledge of the world at Stratford, 35.
 Shaksper, William, flies to London, 39.
 Shaksper, William, his death, 379.
 Shaksper, William, his prosecution of debtors, 182.
 Shaksper, William, his signature to the counterpart of the Walker deed, 387, 391.
 Shaksper, William, his signature to the Walker mortgage, 390.
 Shaksper, William, his visit to Bidford, 377, 378.
 Shaksper, William, his Will, 380.
 Shaksper, William, his vocabulary when he came to London, 195.
 Shaksper, William, language spoken on arrival at London, 193.
 Shaksper, William, married to Ann Whately, 36.
 Shaksper, William, no evidence extant respecting his career from 1589 to 1592, 53.
 Shaksper, William, no proof that he went to school in boyhood, 20.
 Shaksper, William, supposed to have left school at 13 years of age, 30.
 Shaksper, William, went to London at 21 years of age, according to Halliwell-Phillipps; at 22, according to R. G. White; at 23, according to Fleay, 49.
 Shaksper, William, wild in his younger days, according to Rowe, 37.
 Shaksper, William, words spoken to the town clerk of Stratford, 191.
 Shaksper, William, visits Stratford in 1587, and not again till 1596, 52.
 Southampton, Lord, apocryphal story of a loan to Shaksper, 179.
 Spencer, Herbert, on heredity, 41.
 Spencer, Edmund, does not refer to Shaksper in Colin Clout, 266.
 Statue of William Shaksper in Cong. Library, 471.
 Statute of 39 Elizabeth and 1 James on players, 82.
 Steevens, George, on the number of copies of the first Folio edition of the Plays, 334.
 Stefansson, Jan, belief that the writer of Hamlet had visited Denmark, 238-241.
 Stotsenburg, Judge John H., on the Sonnets, 370.
 Stotsenburg, Judge John H., on the vocabulary of the Shakespeare Plays 195.
 Stratford Free School, R. G. White on same, 21.
 Stratford-on-Avon, condition in 1564 and years following, 14.
 Stratford-on-Avon, no mention of in the plays, 431.
 Stubbs, on the London theaters, 107.
 Swan Theater, De Witt's sketch of and description, 106.
 Swinburne, A. G., on Marlowe's place and value among English poets, 68.
 Symonds, Prof. J. A., on the Doubtful Plays, 313.
 Symonds, Prof. J. A., on the London theaters, 113, 114.
 Symonds, Prof. J. A., Performances at Elizabethan Theater; a visit to the Fortune, 102, 114.
 Taine, on the English theaters, time of Elizabeth, 94.
 Tarleton, Richard, cut of, 61.
 Taylor, John, enumerates the poets, 323.
 Theaters, Private, two only, 98, 99.
 Theobald, Dr. W., on Shakespeare's use of certain words, 203-207.
 Titus Andronicus, play of, 138, *et seq.*
 The Chamberlain's company, 108.
 The Chandos portrait, 479.
 The Droeshout likeness of William Shaksper, 464-467.
 The dumb-show, 141.
 The Felton portrait, 473.
 The Flower portrait, 467-471.
 The Gower best likeness, 484.
 The Jansen portrait, 480.

- The Kesselstadt death-mask, 480-483.
 The King's Company, 108.
 The Old Geronimo, The play of, 140.
 The Othello, Quarto and Folio, 310.
 The Passionate Pilgrim, published as by Shakespeare, 72.
 The Shakespeare plays at court, 143.
 The Shakespeare plays not acted at any private theater, 121.
 The Shakespeare plays not acted at length at any public theater, 121.
 The Shakespeare plays not written for Shaksper's theater, 142, 143.
 The Sonnets, 363.
 The Stratford bust, 473-479.
 The theaters in London, 94 *et seq.*
 The Tragical Reign of Selim, The play of, 140.
 The Quarterly Review, on Shakespeare's unobstruance of animated nature, 434-436.
 Thrane, Mrs., obloquy caused by her marriage with Piozzi, 87.
 Trench, on the maker of words, 200.
 The Zucharo portrait, 479.

 Venus and Adonis, publication of, in 1593, 67.
 Vocabulary of the Shakespeare plays, 195.
 Vocabulary of Milton's Works, 195.

 Wallace, Dr. A. R., accounts for the learning in the law of the Shakespeare plays, 220.
 Wallace, Dr. A. R., as to how William Shaksper acquired a knowledge of high life, 248.
 Wallace, Dr. A. R., how Shaksper acquired knowledge, 453.
 Walpole, Horace, on genteel comedies, 63.
 Ward, Rev. John A., result of his investigations at Stratford, 422.
 Warner, Prof. B. E., on Shakespeare as a writer of History, 233.
 Warner, William, rank as a poet, 266.
 Warwickshire dialect, example of, 194.
 Warwickshire, few mentions of, in the plays, 431.

 Webster, Daniel, on acquisition of knowledge, 460.
 Webster, John, enumerates Shakespeare with other poets, 291.
 Webster, John, mention of several poets, 322.
 Weever, John, apostrophe to Shakespeare, 279.
 Weever, John, lines by, 73.
 Weismann, Dr. Aug., on uninstructed musical genius, 42.
 Wendell, Prof. Barrett, accounts for the Shakespeare vocabulary, 214.
 Wendell's characterization of the Elizabethan theaters, 110.
 Wendell, Barrett, his play of Raleigh in Guiana, 342.
 Wendell, Barrett, on the apparent learning of the plays, 455.
 Wendell, Prof. Barrett, on the collaboration of Greene, Peele, Kyd and Marlowe in the Henry VI plays, 58.
 Whately, Ann, marries Shaksper, 36.
 White, R. G., on Shaksper's Will, 381.
 White, Richard Grant, on the learning in the law of the Shakespeare plays, 219.
 White, R. G., Shaksper unknown to any one of note, 415.
 White, Rowland, letters, 361.
 White, Thos. W., on the authorship of the Shakespeare plays, 309.
 White, Thomas W., on the Venus and Adonis, that Marlowe wrote it, 68.
 White and Reed discover evidence of some great imposture on the stage in Shaksper's time, 296.
 Whittington, Thomas, loan of 40 shillings to Ann Shaksper, 52.
 Winter, William, on Shaksper's condition when he made his Will, 380.
 Wincot, mention of, in the plays, 431.
 Wordsworth, Bishop Charles, on the life of Shakspeare, 264.
 Wordsworth, Bishop, on Shakespeare and the Bible, 216, 217.
 Wotton, Sir Henry, absence of mention of Shaksper in correspondence, 414.

Carnegie Free Library of Braddock

F8261 + 63

~~Ap 2'57~~

May 3 '50

Mr 14'81

Mr 23'62

Apr 13 '65

May 14 '69

822.33-A3 84960
wards, W.H.
Shakspeare not
Shakspeare.
cop.1

X758

1107

1117X

5482X

6686X

7384X

777115

1600X

JA13'33

NV3'37

FB26'46

Ap2'57

My3'50

Mr14'81

Mr23'82

822.33-A3
84960
c.1

Carnegie Free Library of Braddock, Pa.

All fiction books except those marked "Seven days" may be kept two weeks, non-fiction four weeks, and may be renewed once.

A fine of two cents a day, including Sundays and holidays, must be paid on each volume kept overtime.

Books kept after notice has been served will be sent for at the expense of the borrower.

No claim can be established because of failure of any notice to or from the library through the mail.

Each borrower is responsible for all books drawn on his card.

Borrowers finding this book defaced or mutilated are requested to report it.

Intentional injury to books or other property of a public library incurs by statute a fine of \$100.

Keep Your Card in This Pocket



